ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	BILINGUAL IN A MONOLINGUAL DISTRICT: STAKEHOLDER PERSPECTIVES ON EQUITABLE ACCESS TO DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMS
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This qualitative comparative case study explores the perspectives of 30 critical stakeholders, including parents, school administrators, and central office personnel, on perceptions of dual language education (DLE) programs at two public dual language schools in a large Mid-Atlantic metropolitan district. This study also explores how these different stakeholders access and perceive access to these programs. Grounded in a conceptual framework that includes Ruiz's orientations of language (1984), interest convergence (Bell, 1980), critical consciousness (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer, et al., 2019), and equity (Espinoza, 2007; Monk, 1990; Murphy, 1988), this study uses semi-structured interviews to demonstrate converging and diverging views on equitable access to dual language programs.

In the focal district of this study, a lottery system offers a mechanism for school choice, but this process does not always lead to access to dual language programs due to

high demand and long waitlists. Latinx families choose a bilingual program for different reasons than their English-speaking counterparts. For the Latinx population, dual language represents a way for these families to maintain a connection to their language and heritage. For English-speakers, the DLE program decision is connected to attending their neighborhood school, the idea of their children having early exposure to a language, and the diversity of the community.

This study contributes to the current body of literature that explores Latinx and English-speaking parents' reasons for choosing a DLE program. This study differs from current literature because it includes multiple stakeholder perspectives to understand different interpretations of access to these highly sought-after programs. This study concludes with implications and suggestions for policy, practice, and research. As part of the Memorandum of Understanding with the focal school district, this work will be shared with central office personnel. This research has important implications for policy decisions regarding equitable access to DLE programs, particularly in terms of program intentions and communication between stakeholders.

BILINGUAL IN A MONOLINGUAL DISTRICT: STAKEHOLDER PERSPECTIVES ON EQUITABLE ACCESS TO DUAL LANGUAGE EDUCATION PROGRAMS

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

Introduction to the Problem

Scientific evidence demonstrates the "underlying human capacity to learn two languages as easily as one" (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine [NASEM], 2017). Yet there are conflicting views on who should have access to learn more than one language, particularly for those students acquiring English. The growing population of emergent bilingual (EB) students is estimated to be 17 million by 2020 (Han et al., 2014). In this study, I use EB as a replacement for English learner (EL), which is a deficit term used to define the learner by what he/she does not know instead of what the learner is acquiring, as in bilingualism. Most EBs are Spanish-speaking, representing over 77% of EBs and almost 8% of all K-12 learners (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2019a). EB students are more likely to live in poverty, attend under-resourced schools, and have parents with lower levels of education compared to their White, monolingual peers (NASEM, 2017). While a plethora of research points to dual language education (DLE) or two-way immersion (TWI) as effective means to raise academic achievement for these learners (Baker, 2011; Lindholm-Leary 2001, 2012; Thomas & Collier, 1997; 1999; 2002), these models may not be readily available to these students (Valdez et al., 2016). I use DLE and TWI interchangeably in this paper, and extended definitions of these models can be found in the definitions section. Dual language immersion, or DLI, is also used in reference to this model (as noted in the quotation below). Choice mechanisms, such as a school lottery system, that seek to make DLE access more equitable might cater to the highly educated and those knowledgeable about the system. Such a scenario can inadvertently exclude

populations, such as the low-income Spanish-speaking families for whom DLE education was initially developed as an ESL service-delivery model in the district investigated in this study.

In the focal district of this study, as neighborhoods gentrify and dual language education programs increase in popularity, equitable access for Spanish-speaking EB students to this coveted and scarce resource becomes increasingly important. While all city residents can apply to the lottery currently in use, it is unclear how different demographics use this system as a way to enroll in school. Furthermore, with long wait-lists for dual language schools, in-boundary school-of-right is the only guaranteed way to access these programs. The program model at the school studied complicates this access because access is not guaranteed if the DLE program is a strand model, or a specialized program within the school (as opposed to a whole school model). More research needs to examine how and why families choose their schools and how the school administrators and district personnel explain and understand access to DLE programs.

A recent article in *The Atlantic* (Williams, 2017) addressed the issue of integration within dual-language programs and the concern that English-dominant, predominantly White, middle-class families may displace the EL population. This article relates to Valdes' (1997) "cautionary note" regarding DLE, which is discussed later in Chapter 2. Additionally, a recent report examining demographics and equity of access to DLE programs in the focal district noted that the proportion of Hispanic and Black students in DLE schools is decreasing, while the proportion of White students is increasing. The analysis in this report indicated the following:

> As the average DLI kindergarten population across the years of the study had 61 students (SD = 17.66), an annual expected decrease of 1.76% in the proportion of Hispanic students in DLI schools would indicate an expected drop of one Hispanic student approximately every year from the average DLI school's kindergarten population, with all other factors, including class size, held constant. (Damari, et al., 2019, p. 27)

While the reasons for this decrease may vary among schools, further research must address the DLE schools and their demographics to understand these shifts and how they affect access to DLE programs for Spanish-speaking students. As Dorner (2011) wrote, "To ensure that *all* families understand their educational options, policymakers need to know how families learn about policies and make their decisions" (p. 232).

The lottery system currently in use in the district studied allows residents to access and attend schools that might be outside of their residential area or schools that have special programs, such as DLE. The lottery system allows families to rank 12 schools, both public and public charters, in their preference order. The system combines these rankings with preference categories to determine families' matches for their chosen schools. Preference categories include, for example, siblings attending the school and proximity to the school. For pre-kindergarten programs, all families must apply through the lottery, and the preference categories still apply.

At a recent academic conference, U.S. Department of Education Assistant Deputy Secretary and Director of the Office of English Language Acquisition José Viana remarked on the difficulty of his local school district lottery system (personal communication, April, 2018). He joked that he needed a college degree to figure out how

the lottery system worked. While his joke was not funny, it perfectly aligns with this research on access to these programs through lottery systems. If a high-ranking federal education official finds his local school lottery system complicated and implies the need for an advanced degree to navigate it, what does that mean for parents who are less educated or even illiterate? Less-experienced families will also encounter barriers to entry.

The deputy mayor for education of the district investigated in this study recently spoke at an event focused on the local lottery system. He described the local school lottery system as the "backbone" of a thriving system and an important policy tool for equity and access (personal communication, November 18, 2019). An at-large councilmember said at the same event that the lottery system "makes choice a reality," that the number of choices [in this district] is "amazing," and that the lottery system is "the backbone" of the system overall. The state superintendent said that the system is "leveling the playing field" and gives access to information and data. The superintendent explained that 70% of students enroll through the lottery process, but only 27% of students attend their neighborhood school. However, the state superintendent also indicated that we do not know how lottery use varies among populations, particularly in terms of EL families, but that we do know at-risk families are less likely to use the lottery, with 40% of at-risk families not using the lottery system (personal communication, January 16, 2020).

My study aims to address these systems and stakeholder perspectives on DLE in two schools within an urban district in the Mid-Atlantic region to understand how the

district aligns its DLE programs with the needs of the populations these programs were created to serve.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

In the district of this study, the percentage of Latinx students is growing, from 15% of all students in the 2011–2012 school year, to 20% of students in the 2017–2018 school year (district data, 2019). Yet this population still falls behind its Black and White peers in terms of academic achievement indicators, such as high school graduation rates. According to NCES (2019b), the adjusted cohort graduation rate for Latinx students compared to Whites in this district is a difference of 23 points (68 for Latinx versus 91 for Whites). NCES reported that this gap is the largest gap between Latinx and White students in the country among adjusted cohort graduation rates. Nationally, Latinx have the highest dropout rate (8.6% compared to 6.2 and 5.2 for Black and White students) (NCES, 2019b).

Because additive bilingual education models are shown to be more effective for academic achievement than English-only approaches (Rolstad, et al., 2005; Thomas & Collier, 1997), it is imperative that Spanish-speaking EB students have access to this resource. Yet we lack information surrounding *how and why* low-income native Spanish-speaking (NSS) parents access and choose DLE programs/schools within the district. The school enrollment decision may not be a conscious decision for some families, meaning that they might not consider it a decision at all but simply enroll their children in the local school option. We do not know if all families understand the lottery system or school choice in the way that the school system intends. This study will fill this gap by providing this focal district with information about a comparative case study of two specific DLE

elementary schools. This study aims to understand how a diverse group of stakeholders, including parents, school administrators, and district personnel, comprehend and explain access to DLE programs in an urban school district in the Mid-Atlantic region.

Research Questions

The objectives of this study are twofold. First, I wanted to understand how parents perceive and gain access to TWI programs and their reasons for choosing such programs. For example, do parents know about, and participate in, the lottery system? Or do they enroll their children in a school because it is their neighborhood school? Compiling this information will help the focal school district understand how families choose their schools and how they access these programs. While I am particularly interested in the experiences of low-income Spanish-speaking families, my study includes a variety of participants with different linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds, which enriched my study. Second, I aimed to understand how school administrators and district officials view and explain access to DLE programs. I hope this information not only highlights how parents in this district choose their schools, including the similarities and differences in these choices, but also highlights where the policy process works and where improvements can be made to promote equitable access to this educational resource.

Overarching

1. How do parents choose to enroll in the DLE program at Butterfield and Juniper Elementary Schools and how does their enrollment process exacerbate/relieve inequities in access to DLE within the district? (All names in this study are pseudonyms, including all schools and participants.)

Single-Case

The single-case questions refer to the specific bounded case; that is, the specific school and the parent population within that school. The central office personnel also represent their own bounded case.

1. How do parents at Butterfield/Juniper make decisions about their child's enrollment in their school? What are the factors that influence this decision?
2. How does the school administrator at Butterfield/Juniper perceive parent access to the school's DLE program in terms of the lottery system and neighborhood access?
3. How do perceptions of access and choice vary between the parents in the school and the administrator?
4. How do district personnel in the offices relevant to DL programs perceive and articulate parent access to these programs and the role of equity in parent access?

Cross-Case

Cross-case refers to the examination across the different bounded cases, such as comparing the two schools with each other and comparing the central office with the schools.

1. What are the similarities and differences among parents of dual language education students in how they understand, access, and enroll in the DLE program in each of the schools?
2. How do the factors that influence student enrollment vary between the two different parent populations at Butterfield and Juniper?

3. What are the similarities and differences in the way the school administrators perceive parent access to their programs and explain parent choice?
4. How do the perceptions of district personnel vary from the administrators and parents in terms of access to DLE?

Definition of Terms

Bilingual education has become a "catch-all phrase for any form of instruction in which some first language (L1) activity is used in the classroom" (Lindholm-Leary, 2001, p. 3). This term makes DLE research challenging because it can be unclear which model is being referred to unless explicitly stated. Bilingual education, DLE, and TWI all have the same meaning, although as Wiley and Garcia (2016) discussed, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation changed the use of the term "bilingual education" because it "silenced the term 'bilingualism' to focus on English language acquisition." More recent legislation, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), which was signed by President Obama at the end of 2015 and was a reauthorization of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, makes no explicit reference to bilingual education, but it does address using adequate programming to meet the needs of English Learners (EL) under the Title III funding structure. ESSA directed authority away from the federal government and transferred it to the states and local education agencies, or LEAs, to establish localized programs. Henderson and Palmer (2019) noted that bilingual education has a negative connotation due to its reference to remedial and transitional programs. This association has led scholars and educators to move from using bilingual to using dual language instead to demonstrate the additive element of these programs (Henderson & Palmer, 2019, p. 47). The term immersion, while not the same concept by

definition, also appears frequently in the literature because some authors use the term dual-language immersion (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008) or two-way immersion to describe a program in which students are immersed in both languages. Dual-language immersion (DLI) and two-way immersion (TWI) refer to the same general concept of content instruction in both languages with a balance of language majority and minority language students. The focal district of this study largely uses the term DLI to refer to its dual language programs. Because two-way immersion is considered a type of dual-language education (DLE), I will use two-way immersion and dual-language education interchangeably to reflect the local policy context. For the purposes of this paper, I only refer to Spanish-English DLE programs.

Two-way immersion programs are defined as additive bilingualism programs, promoting bilingualism, biliteracy, and cultural understanding. I will use the criteria established by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) because it provides a comprehensive definition of these programs. According to CAL's website, the criteria of TWI include:

- Integration: Language-minority and language majority students are integrated for at least 50% of instructional time at all grade levels.
- Instruction: Content and literacy instruction in both languages is provided to all students.
- Population: Within the program, there is a balance of language-minority and language majority students, with each group making up between one third and two thirds of the total student population (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2016).

The balanced population of different language speakers is important for DLE and TWI programs and is part of what makes a model TWI. Each group must make up approximately one third to two thirds of the total student population (Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006, p. 7). Alanis and Rodriguez (2008) also mentioned the importance of a balanced population for a true dual-language experience. The balanced numbers are important so that each group "can serve as a linguistic resource and peer model for the other" (p. 309). Alanis and Rodriguez also stated that although the most ideal ratio is 50% English speakers and 50% Spanish speakers, this type of program can still be successful if neither group falls below 30% of the classroom population. I did not find any research to confirm or negate the 30% as the low-end of the threshold.

In *successful* DLE programs, students achieve proficiency (speaking, reading, writing, and listening) in both their native language and their second language (L2). This criterion depends on the specific assessment. For example, the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) has a passing rate of 56% (Gomez, et al., 2005). Therefore, as authors refer to success in their work, it is important to consider the parameters specific to the context of the study to draw conclusions. Thomas and Collier (1997) referred to success as "English learners reaching eventual full educational parity with native English speakers in all school content subjects (not just in English proficiency) after a period of at least 5-6 years" (p. 8). Long-term parity is defined as the 50th percentile on standardized tests; that is "typical achievement levels of native-English speakers" (defined as 50th percentile or normal curve equivalent) (Thomas & Collier, 1997, p. 34). This figure is important to keep in mind as we evaluate student achievement comparatively in the literature review section of this study.

The literature generally refers to non-native English speakers in these programs as *English-Learners* (ELs). The term English Learner, while an attempt to make a positive change from the use of Limited English Proficient (LEP) and a shorter version of English Language Learner (ELL), still implies a deficit lens because of the view that students are learning English, as opposed to highlighting their own linguistic resources. While I will use EL and ELL as reflected in the literature, I aim to use the term *Emergent Bilingual* (EB) throughout this paper because this term acknowledges that the student is acquiring two languages (or more) at the same time. The EB label suggests a more holistic view of bilinguals because it is "accenting future language development towards fuller bilingualism" (Baker & Wright, 2017, p. 11). Another term that appears in this dissertation is *Dual Language Learner* (DLL). A DLL is a child, age birth to 5 years, in the process of developing their first language as they either simultaneously or sequentially learn a second language (i.e. English).

Equity was defined by Monk (1990) as the fairness in distribution of a good or service. Monk's notion of *vertical equity* helps us understand how equity can apply to different populations within the educational context of a community. He explained, "Implicit in the equal treatment of equals standard is a willingness to accept the unequal treatment of unequals" (p. 37). In an educational context, equity is a highly complex and contested notion that indicates whether students have the resources they need to be successful. Equity is a complicated term because it often refers to academic achievement and the ability of students to have the materials necessary to succeed. These materials can vary largely across a district and could include something as basic as a heated school building with working bathrooms or something more complex, such as the quality of the

teachers and/or programs. The need for and distribution of resources will be different for specific segments of the population, such as ELs versus monolingual English speakers. The notion of equity is key to DLE programs, specifically those that aim to raise the academic achievement levels of EL students typically marginalized by the education system. I argue that DLE is a *necessity* for native Spanish-speaking EL students, not only to give them access to the English education they need to be successful in our school system and beyond, but also to maintain and grow their native or heritage language as part of their identity. While equity is important for all students, this work examines the concept in relation to Spanish-speaking EL students. Furthermore, I will specifically refer to *equitable access* for these students, which suggests priority access to DLE programs.

While I cannot capture the complexity of my participants by simple labels, I use some demographic terminology throughout this paper. In an attempt to categorize participants' linguistic differences, I use the abbreviations *NES* and *NSS* to refer to native English-speakers and native Spanish-speakers. These terms do not account for simultaneous bilinguals, nor do they account for participants who have another native language apart from English or Spanish (I have one such participant in this study). The U.S. Census defines *Hispanic* or *Latino* as a "person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (United States Census Bureau, 2018), which is an extremely broad definition. For the purpose of my study, I use *Latinx* as the gender-neutral term for the group of Latinos and Latinas, but this term is also a simplistic one for the complexity and diversity of this group of people. Latinx includes people with different socioeconomic status, educational attainment, and cultural backgrounds. For example, it includes both Luz, a bilingual participant from

Argentina who owns her own home, and Gloria, an undocumented Spanish-speaking mother from Mexico. I use the term Latinx specifically to refer to the participants from Latin America in my study, as I do not have any participants who identified as Spanish (from Spain). I use the focal district's terminology for the pre-kindergarten programs, which are *PK3* and *PK4* (pre-kindergarten, age 3 and pre-kindergarten age 4). *Historically underserved students* include low-income, racial/ethnic minorities, sexual and gender minorities, English-learners, and other students who do not receive equitable resources in their academic environments. *At-risk* students are those who qualify for services such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) or Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), are homeless, are in the foster care system, or are one year or more older than the expected age for their grade (OSSE).

Introduction to Methodology

This study is a qualitative comparative case study that explores three separate cases before making cross-case comparisons of two different schools and district personnel. I used semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders, including parents, school administrators, and district personnel, to understand, compare, and triangulate perspectives within the school district on dual language programs and access to them. With the exception of district personnel, all participants participated in one interview. The interviews with the district personnel included an initial interview and a concluding interview to follow up on information learned through interviews with parents and school administrators. I used four rounds of qualitative coding to generate the themes for this research. Chapter 3 discusses my methods in depth.

Limitations and Delimitations

My study is limited in several ways. First, the sets of parents interviewed for this study were from two specific public schools that offered DLE programs at one point in time, and my study did not include more than one interview with parent or administrator participants. A longitudinal study that explored parents' perspectives on school choice and change over time would have enhanced my understanding of the reasons for their choices and school selection processes. Second, I did not have access to the school principals to include them as participants in this study but include the perspectives of the assistant principals instead. While the assistant principals were key players in the school administration structure, I also wanted the perspectives of the school principals. Third, I interviewed district officials who had a connection with DLE programs, but my participants were in no way exclusively those that played a part in the design, implementation, or policy-making regarding these programs. These officials represent a sample of those involved from the offices I understand to be most relevant to DLE. My participants all generously shared their time and perspectives with me, and for that I am grateful. Any errors are my own.

Overview of Chapters

This paper is organized in the following way:

- Chapter 1 is the introduction, including the rationale and reasons for my study, background information, and the purpose and significance of my study. I state my research questions and include definitions of key terms for this study.
- Chapter 2 consists of my literature review, including my conceptual framework, which is a compilation of three different theoretical orientations and the notion of

equity. These concepts include Ruiz's (1984) orientations of language, interest convergence (Bell, 1980), and critical consciousness (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019). Within my literature review, I include theoretical and empirical research on the definition, goals, and outcomes of dual-language education, the context of dual language education, social-emotional learning related to DLE, parent reasons for choosing DLE, school choice more broadly, the lottery system, the role of middle-class parents in urban schools, and cautions about DLE.

- Chapter 3 is my methods section, which restates my research questions, describes my position as a researcher, details my data collection plan, and outlines my data analysis procedures.
- Chapter 4 is the findings section, which is organized by each case in terms of my research questions.
- Chapter 5 is the discussion of my findings. I use the themes from my conceptual framework to explain my findings, followed by the themes that emerged organically from the data.
- Chapter 6 is the final chapter, which includes my conclusion, the contribution of my study to scholarly work, and implications for policy, research, and practice.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Scope and Delimitations

Dual language education is a complex and highly political issue. A broad search on Academic Search Complete using the terms "bilingual education," "two-way-immersion," or "dual-language education" results in approximately 7,435 articles. I limited the literature review to sources from the last twenty years (1999–2019) but included older seminal pieces that contribute important data points to the field (for example, Thomas & Collier, 1997; Valdes, 1997). I explored various education and psychology databases from the University of Maryland's Library website to thoroughly examine the topic, including Academic Search Complete, ERIC, Education Source, PsycArticles, PsycCRITIQUES, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection, and Family and Society Studies Worldwide. These sources allowed me to look for my search terms within all the available databases in the field of education. I also relied on the bibliographies of previous studies as important sources of additional research that would enhance my work.

As mentioned in the definition section, the term "bilingual education" is broad and can refer to many different forms (one-way, two-way, transitional, or maintenance). I am specifically interested in dual-language or two-way immersion models because they contain a balanced population of speakers of both languages, meaning all students are language learners. Furthermore, TWI models, with their mix of language majority and language minority populations, have the potential to integrate populations typically segregated in the educational context. I referred to the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) to make sure I included all possible terms for dual-language in my searches, such

as “two-way immersion,” “bilingual education,” “dual-language education,” and “dual-language immersion.” I include the terms that define these models but exclude the literature on other models such as “transitional bilingual,” “maintenance or heritage bilingual,” and “one-way immersion.” For the purpose of this paper, I only referenced Spanish/English dual language programs. My literature review focused mostly on empirical work (although it includes some theory) and excluded literature about dual-language program implementation.

To begin my search on how different geographical settings contextualize DLE (e.g. nationwide, restrictive, expansive, etc.), I started with the Department of Education Report titled, *Dual Language Education Programs: Current State Policies and Practices* (Boyle et al., 2015) and the NASEM Report, “Promoting the Educational Success of Children and Youth Learning English: Promising Futures,” (2017) because these reports provide macro-level context for policies throughout the United States. Given the varying approaches nationwide to DLE (restrictive versus expansive, for example), a survey-type view of these approaches seemed most appropriate to provide the general context and to frame DLE within the United States. I included examples of literature from California, Massachusetts, and Arizona because of their restrictive (or formerly restrictive) language policies.

To review the literature about parent choice and two-way immersion, I searched using the terms “two-way immersion programs,” “parent choice,” and “Spanish” and limited results to those applicable to the geographic context of the United States. I excluded studies that took place outside the United States and TWI programs that were

not Spanish/English. I also exclusively used literature on TWI programs in public school settings and excluded charter and private school literature.

My review of how equity is defined in the literature regarding access to two-way immersion and choice programs began with a review of Sugarman (2012) because her study focused on practitioners' perspectives of equity in DLE. This resource provided a jumping off point through her bibliography of other studies that looked specifically at equity in TWI programs. I found several books on equity in education more generally (Carter & Welner, 2013; Linton, 2011) and also a body of literature related to equity in DLE and equity related to choice mechanisms, such as the lottery in the focal district of this study. The lottery literature is a separate section of this review. Additional pockets of literature relevant to my study include the small body of literature on social-emotional learning/development (SEL/SED) related to DLE, literature on the lottery mechanism, middle-class parents and urban schools, and school choice literature.

Organization

This review is organized into different categories of literature that frame my study in the context of dual language education. The first section outlines my conceptual framework, including language ideologies, orientations in language planning (Ruiz, 1984), interest convergence (Bell, 1980), critical consciousness (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019), and equity. Next, I discuss the literature that frames DLE, including methodologies used in the field, different models of DLE programs, the goals of DLE programs, and the empirical literature regarding student outcomes in DLE programs. I provide a survey of the national context for DLE, including a brief discussion of restrictive language environments, expansive policies, and the local context of this

study. I discuss five specific articles that provide a critical view of DLE (Valdes, 1997; Palmer, 2010; Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Freire et al., 2017; and Valdez et al., 2016). I also include in this section the literature on why parents choose DLE, with a focus on Spanish-speaking parents; SEL research related to DLE; the lottery system; the role of middle-class parents in urban schools; and school choice.

Conceptual Orientation

Theorizing is a way to explain my view of the world and position my study, but it is not the goal of my study. After reading and considering various theories to frame my dissertation study, I decided to create my own conceptual framework from several different perspectives that fit my research topic and analytical lens. I use four main frames, including Ruiz's (1984) orientations in language planning, interest convergence (Bell, 1980), critical consciousness (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019), and equity (Espinoza, 2007; Monk, 1990; Murphy, 1988). I will discuss each of these frames and the connected literature below.

Language Ideologies

To frame Ruiz's (1984) theory of orientations in language planning, I first briefly discuss the theoretical notion of language ideologies. Language ideology is a multifaceted term that has been defined and discussed in many different ways (Gee, 2015; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004; Woolard, 1992). My description of language ideology and the articles cited here are not intended to encompass the whole field but are intended to frame my understanding of language ideology more broadly before I specifically discuss Ruiz (1984). I agree that language ideologies are "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (Rumsey, 1990, p. 346). I define ideology as

one's ideas or views that are based on social beliefs. These beliefs can "legitimize, resist, or interrupt the existing power hierarchy and promote various group interests over others." (Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004, p. 160). In this section, I first discuss language ideology broadly (Gee, 2015; Woolard, 1992). Next, I address language ideology in the context of DLE (Fitzsimmons-Doolan, et al., 2017; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004). Finally, I specifically discuss Ruiz's (1984) orientations in language planning which forms part of my conceptual framework for this study.

Gee (2015) discussed the history of the word "ideology" and explained that people often view the world with theories they take for granted. Gee examined the shift from the positive association of the word with the science of ideas (p.8) to a more negative sense of the word under Napoleon's reign. In his brief history of the word, Gee also mentioned Marx and his belief that "our knowledge, beliefs, and behaviors reflected and were shaped most importantly by the economic relationships (relations of production and consumption) that existed in our societies" (p. 9). While Gee does not agree with Marx on his notion of "false consciousness," (the beliefs of the elite are not reality; rather their beliefs are the way they wish reality to be), he does think Marx was right on the role of production and consumption in influencing how people see the world and also agrees with Marx that societies were primarily set up to ensure that the elite maintain their privilege while the "masses" are supposed to follow (p. 10). To demonstrate this claim, Gee uses the example of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and standard English to show beliefs that we have about the correct use of language. Gee explains this example at length to demonstrate the way we base generalizations on everyday ideas we have about "right" and "wrong" language and to demonstrate the contrasts between the

linguist's beliefs and those of the generalist. Gee wants the reader to know that some generalizations, such as when people state that AAVE is incorrect English when it has grammatical rules similar to standard English, can be harmful to other people. He argues that it is our moral obligation to examine theories and ensure that they do not give one group advantage over another. In his view, "theory and meaning are moral matters" (Gee, 2015, p. 21).

Woolard (1992) provides a historical review of the term linguistic, or language ideology, in an effort to define the field of inquiry. She refers to ideology as calling attention to "the socially-situated, and/or experientially-derived dimension of cognition or consciousness, simultaneously positioning our research within traditionally cultural and social theoretical realms" (p. 237). She explains that ideology is not straightforward or neutral but can have different meanings. She refers to four different perspectives on ideology, including the most universal, which is the understanding of ideology as a set of one's beliefs. She notes that ideology can be rooted or grounded in a social construct, which is based on one's social experiences and what one believes to be true. Lastly, she discusses the "intimate connection to social power and its legitimation" (p. 238). Woolard also writes about the history of the term ideology and how its meaning varies between cultures and theorists. She cites examples from western European languages, such as English, that have a "drive for reference" or where the divisions and structures of language also fit the "real world" (p. 242). Woolard also addresses the problems that hinge on language ideology, which could include dual language education and access to it.

Fitzsimmons-Doolan et al. (2017) conducted a survey-based study to explore the language ideologies of administrators and teachers during the implementation of a district-wide, top-down, dual language bilingual education (DLBE) initiative. The authors wanted to understand how language ideology varied among the participants and their respective backgrounds, such as home language, DLBE training, and teaching experience. They found eight different language ideologies among participants, including "multiple languages as a problem" and "language as a symbol of majority influence." Fitzsimmons-Doolan et al. (2017) discussed the highly politicized field of bilingual education and how language ideologies in this field are generally based in issues of power (p. 705). The authors addressed how the educator's own ideologies influence local bilingual education policy implementation. They used a mixed-methods approach that included the *Educators' Beliefs about Language* survey, quantitative analysis (exploratory factor analysis and ANOVA), and qualitative questions (open-ended). In the factor analysis, they found eight categories of language ideologies that accounted for 46% of the total variance (p. 710). Similar to my findings, they also found multiple language ideologies embedded in some participant's comments, which they labeled as "Ideological Tension" to show where the participant relied on contradicting language ideologies. The factor analysis also allowed the authors to understand the ideologies within the group, while the individual comments provided insights into individual participants' ideologies or perspectives. The authors concluded, "A primary goal in DLBE is to ensure equitable, high caliber academic opportunities to students of all languages and cultural backgrounds; educators' language ideologies are evidently a key consideration in this effort." I agree with this claim, which is why I use the concept of

Ruiz's (1984) orientations in language planning as part of the conceptual framework for my study.

Martínez-Roldán and Malavé (2004) address the importance of the social context of ideology, particularly as it relates to power relations between groups. Martínez-Roldán and Malavé argued that context, power relations, and conflicts are important when different groups are competing for access to resources, control, or services (p. 161). The authors also illustrated the complexities of ideology that cannot be assigned to one group (whether class, linguistic, or ethnic), as within these groups, there may be many different social groups. Specifically related to language ideology, Martínez-Roldán and Malavé defined their use of the term as "core" beliefs and attitudes shared by individuals, as members of groups…" (p. 161). Through critical discourse analysis, these authors discussed the language ideology of a student, Steve, who was the only one in a previous study who expressed negative perceptions of Spanish and Spanish-speakers (even though he was of Mexican descent). Similarly, the authors found the child's father also had negative perceptions of the Spanish language, recent Mexican immigrants, and bilingual education. Martínez-Roldán and Malavé concluded that bilingual education advocates must understand parents' beliefs about language and cultural aspects of immigrant families in order to promote their participation in linguistic rights and bilingual education (p. 178). Through the narrower language ideology lens of Ruiz's (1984) orientations of language planning, I attempt to contribute to that understanding.

Gee (2015) and Woolard (1992) broadly frame the concept of language ideology and allow the reader to understand how language ideology is constructed through social beliefs. Their explanations also permit the reader to reflect on individual language

ideology, which is important for this study as it focuses on perspectives on DLE programs. While both Gee and Woolard provide explanations for language ideology, they do not address contrasts that individuals may have in their own language views, such as viewing bilingualism as negative for EL students versus a "gift" for monolingual English speakers. The addition of Fitzsimmons-Doolan et al.'s (2017) perspective provides a discussion of this type of juxtaposition by calling it "ideological tension" in situations where participants have contrasting language ideologies. I found this concept particularly useful for understanding the contrasts in the perspectives of my own participants in this study. Martínez-Roldán and Malavé (2004) demonstrate the importance of understanding parent language ideologies, specifically for DLE programs. In their study, it was a Spanish-speaker who had negative perceptions of the DLE program, which might be contrary to the general view of bilingual education as a resource and additive program. Because my dissertation incorporates various stakeholder perspectives on DLE programs, it is important to consider the stakeholders' language ideologies to understand how they view DLE. Next, I specifically discuss Ruiz (1984) and his three orientations in language planning.

Orientations in Language Planning

Ruiz's (1984) orientations in language planning serve as guidance for how language can be categorized in our society and for language planning. For the purposes of my research, I include all three of his orientations to highlight the different approaches to language. Ruiz (1984) stipulated three language orientations: (a) language-as-problem, (b) language-as-right, and (c) language-as- resource. The language-as-problem orientation can be explained by the connection between language issues and poverty.

This view is a deficit perspective because it views additional languages of EL students as a barrier to their English acquisition. I believe the mainstream educational approach called "English-only" highlights the language-as-problem orientation because this model does not embrace or value a student's linguistic repertoire. The English-only approach generally serves as a subtractive model that teaches English at the expense of the student's home language.

Language-as-right stipulates that language is a human right, which can take many different forms. For example, language-as-right could include governmental program participation, such as the ability to vote, to receive economic benefits, or to use an interpreter service. Language-as-right can also include the right to use one's language in daily life and the right not to be discriminated against due to language (Ruiz, 1984, p. 22). This right can refer to legal and employment rights as well as to personal freedom rights (McCarty, 2016). This orientation is largely influenced by the protections within the U.S. legal system for minority groups, but it can also include access to bilingual education as a civil rights issue for the Latinx community. The language-as-right orientation merits discussion in this paper because of the human rights issue of language. This orientation is influenced by the U.S. legal system that protects minority rights, as illustrated by various legal cases, such as *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1932) and *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) (Ruiz, 1984). Language-as-right is an important orientation because my work becomes grounded in the notion that Spanish-speaking EL students must have access to DLE programs as a fundamental right. The language-as-right orientation, however, can be controversial because there are certain words associated with rights that can lead to resistance, such as "enforcement," "entitlement," and "requirements."

Ruiz (1984) argued that the language-as-resource orientation could be a "suitable approach" for language planning in the United States (p. 24). Ruiz demonstrated that this orientation could alleviate conflicts between the other two orientations, could enhance the language status of subordinate languages, could relieve tensions between minority and majority communities, and could be a "consistent" way to view other languages in the United States (p. 24). According to Baker (2011), the language-as-resource orientation acknowledges the additive nature of bilingualism and sees language as a positive means to promote academic achievement:

> According to this orientation, bilingualism is an asset and an individual's language repertoire is a tool to help navigate different situations. Language-as-resource implies that not only is language helpful for economic movements, but language also has an "ability to build social bridges across different groups and bridges for increasing cultural understanding." (p. 382)

Language-as-resource could alleviate tensions from the other two orientations because language can "serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in U.S. society" as well as ease tensions between majority and minority communities (Ruiz, 1984, p. 25). This orientation would allow speakers of these minority languages to serve as "important sources of expertise" (Ruiz, 1984, p. 28). Within a TWI program, the power dynamic between languages shifts because the language minority speakers play the role of expert in their own language. Educational programs that promote the use of a native language and encourage bilingualism and biliteracy regard language as a resource; a TWI model celebrates and promotes bilingualism and biculturalism. This view of language-as-resource may be at conflict with the larger

societal view that may see language-as-resource for some (White, middle-class, monolingual) and language-as-problem (low SES, non-native English speaking) for others. As McCarty (2017) argued, the language-as-resource approach gives students a more *natural* language approach, particularly if students of different native languages interact and learn from each other, address status problems, and are encouraged to maintain their heritage language.

Ramírez et al. (2016) use Ruiz's (1984) orientations in language planning to document how Latina teachers advocated for language rights for EB students in two school districts in Arizona. Arizona has been a challenging environment for EB students because of its nativist orientation and elimination of bilingual education (Ramírez et al., 2016). Due to the near-prohibition of bilingual education and restrictive language policy favoriting an English-only medium of instruction in Arizona resulting from passage of Proposition 203, Arizona's state Department of Education required the four-hour block as part of implementing its newly-required Structured English Immersion (SEI) programs. The authors in this study used Ruiz's language-as-right and language-as-resource orientations to analyze teachers' advocacy efforts and to argue that the teachers were guided by both of these language orientations in their work with students. Just as Ruiz argued that language is a human right, Ramírez et al. viewed Proposition 203 as a policy that violated the rights of Latinx students. Ramírez et al. also argued that language-as-resource is important because bilingualism is associated with students' familial and cultural identities (p. 298). In their study, Ramírez et. al found that teachers demonstrated language advocacy practices for their EB students both inside and outside of the school. One of the teachers, Maria, "welcomed and honored" the students' Spanish language in

her class and also incorporated Latin American literature into her classroom (Ramírez, et al., 2016, p. 303). The other teacher in the study, Alejandrina, also encouraged students' bilingualism even though Spanish was not permitted in classroom instruction. She engaged the parent community in a co-literacy project and wanted to understand and incorporate families' lived experiences in her classroom. Ramírez et al. demonstrated through these language orientations how teachers invested in practices that were both language-as-resource and language-as-right, despite the restrictive language policy environment.

The field of language ideology is broad and encompasses many perspectives and views on language. While I could potentially use a number of different language ideologies, or perspectives, to frame this work, I chose Ruiz's (1984) orientations in language planning because these ideologies are the ones that resonate the most with me and help me frame my understanding of language. While I broadly align myself with a language-as-resource perspective, I am compelled to believe that language-as-right is the most relevant way to understand access to DLE on behalf of Spanish-speaking EB students.

Interest Convergence

The 1954 U.S. Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision ordered the end of state-mandated racial segregation in schools. It was on the fifth anniversary of the decision that Professor Herbert Weschler—a lawyer and civil rights advocate—raised questions about it. Weschler concluded that, "racial segregation is, in principle, a denial of equality to the minority against whom it is directed; that is, the group that is not dominant politically and, therefore, does not make the choice involved" (as cited in Bell,

1980, p. 521). At the 25th anniversary of this landmark decision, Derrick Bell, Jr. (1980) explained why school desegregation failed and how to bring about change. As part of his explanation, Bell discussed Professor Weschler's criticism of the decision. In Bell's address and examination of Weschler's argument, he concluded, "The principle of 'interest convergence' is that the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites" (p. 523). Bell (1980) argued that the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision cannot be understood without thinking about the value of the decision to Whites, and he also argued that the decision helped provide "immediate credibility to America's struggle with Communist countries to win the hearts and minds of third world peoples" (p. 524). The decision also offered a type of reassurance to Black people that the freedoms fought for during World War II would be given at home (Bell, 1980, p. 524). Lastly, segregation was a barrier to further industrialization in the South, and Whites would benefit from ending state-sponsored segregation. In conclusion, Bell posits that fulfilling the intent of *Brown v. Board of Education* is possible "to the extent that the divergence of racial interests can be avoided or minimized" (p. 528). Bell discussed racial balance measures that do not always eliminate racial discrimination in schools and the importance of using other mechanisms to address these issues, even in desegregated schools. Bell stated that schools must be effective for Black students, which should be a primary goal instead of as a result of integration. The concept of interest convergence became a popular term in the field of critical race theory, but can also be applied on its own merit as a component of a conceptual framework, which I do in this study.

Both Palmer (2010) and Freire et al. (2017) used a critical race theoretical framework and specifically tied their work to the concept of interest convergence. Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) also cited the notion of interest convergence in their examination of the literature as they proposed the fourth goal of TWI as "critical consciousness." Although Valdes (1997) did not mention interest convergence explicitly, her work demonstrated that the interests of the White population are at the center of these programs, particularly as she refers to the beneficiaries of the programs. Through her North Carolina example, Cervantes-Soon (2014) demonstrated that the language majority population is the primary recipient and target population for TWI programs. In all these cases, the minority students' interests are sidelined in favor of the interests of the White majority. I think this is an important consideration in places such as the focal district where the White English-speaking population is interested in DLE from a bilingual standpoint but not necessarily from an equity standpoint. As programs develop locally, educators and policymakers should reflect on whose interests are being met and how these programs target equity. For example, the recent legislation in the focal district to expand dual language education for the 2020-2021 school year across all wards might be seen as a way to meet the demand of majority parents who are currently interested in dual language education. It might also benefit Spanish-speaking students if they are able to enroll in these programs, but it seems unlikely that this bill (specifically because it does not mention EL students) was written to benefit minority language students.

Kelly (2018) used interest convergence theory to examine legislation in California (SB 1174) and Arizona (SB 1242) to determine who these bills benefited. California's SB 1174, also known as the "California Education for a Global Economy (Ed.G.E.)

Initiative", requires schools to offer bilingual programs if "30 parents at a school or 20 parents of students in one grade request it" (p. 8). Arizona's SB 1242, Arizona's Critical Language and Economic Development Pilot Program, allows up to 20 schools to offer programs in critical languages, which includes Spanish, Japanese, Russian, Arabic, Chinese, French, Portuguese, and Native American languages. Kelly wanted to understand how this proposed legislation would affect the education of EL students. She argued that the purpose of bilingual education shifted to focus more on economic interests for some students in bilingualism rather than focusing on support for EL students to learn English (Kelly, 2018, p. 16). The primary reasons these bills mention the expansion of bilingual education is for economic benefits and national security, not the interests of EL students. The California legislation explicitly includes EL students, whereas the Arizona legislation explicitly excludes this population. Her analysis showed "the potential danger in the shifting rhetoric surrounding bilingual education and [suggested] that issues of equity should be foregrounded in planning dual language programs" (p. 18).

Morales and Maravilla (2019) argued that interest convergence in DL programs is beneficial when realized for both the language minority and majority populations. This concept serves as a helpful tool to understand how different groups are prioritized in these programs, particularly when there is a power differential present, as is often the case with working-class Latinx populations and middle-class, mostly White, English speakers. In their qualitative study, Morales and Maravilla used a case study of a DL program in southern California to demonstrate how the interests of each of these groups converged. They argued that in the case of the Carver Language School, the model

worked because both parties benefited from each other and their politics aligned. In this case, the principal acknowledged the power differential between the two groups and was able to put the needs and interests of the minority community first. For example, the principal talked about how the school spent as much time working with the adult community as with the students because of the differences in socioeconomic status and educational levels. Adults also needed to confront their own preconceived notions to work with other parents who were different from them. Morales and Maravilla noted that the teachers had constant pressure from the middle-class parents with high expectations of their children's education and that teachers had to work to build a community because they wanted to have an integrated and strong community. While the involvement of middle-class parents and the attention they draw to their own students is seen in other programs, Morales and Maravilla concluded, "All students stand to benefit when teachers maintain high standards for their classrooms" (p. 150).

Morales and Maravilla (2019) made several important points that address how distinct populations benefit from DLE programs. Morales and Maravilla highlighted several important elements that help this model function, including a school leader and a teaching community that are aware of the racial and socio-economic dynamics, appreciate power differentials, and know how to build community and integrate these populations. The role of a school leader with a critical consciousness is particularly important in this situation so that the school's program can function for different segments of the population. Morales and Maravilla stated that this case-study could be a "social experiment of how to engage in interest convergence in a productive manner" (p. 151). Their study of Carver Language School is a good illustration of how scholars can

use interest convergence as a way to organize their work and demonstrate the mutual benefit for both the majority and minority populations. I hope we can see more case studies similar to this one.

Alemán and Alemán (2010) offered a different perspective on interest convergence. They described how interest convergence has been used in critical race theory. Alemán and Alemán posited that several scholars have used interest convergence as a tool to explain civil rights gains, particularly in terms of education. This body of literature is small, and my study can contribute to this notion of interest convergence. For example, legal scholars have examined some cases of interest convergence to reimagine policies or laws that were typically thought of as civil rights victories, as did Derrick Bell (1980) regarding the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. In educational settings, several scholars have used this theory to describe African American male athletes in the NCAA (Donner, 2005), Washington state's affirmative action debate (Taylor, 2000), and a school district struggle with desegregation (Leigh, 2003). Alemán and Alemán found at least 16 studies in which the authors argued for converging the interests of the majority and minority population for the benefit of the minority population. This strategy takes the perspective that interest convergence can be used as a way for "swaying majority opinion to support racial remedies" (Alemán & Alemán, 2010, p. 6). Alemán and Alemán used counter stories, which are the narratives of marginalized people that use converging interests to show or counter the racial privilege of the majority, as their methodological tool.

In my research, interest convergence helps to explain the influx of mostly White, higher-socioeconomic-status families to DLE programs in the public schools of the focal

district. Interest convergence presents an interesting and important way to explain why this population is increasingly interested in this program model and how this population's interest impacts historically marginalized populations, mainly low-income Spanish-speaking families but also African Americans (particularly in the case of Juniper, as I will demonstrate). While interest convergence has negative connotations, it also can bring some positive changes if coupled with critical consciousness, which I explain next.

Critical Consciousness

Several authors (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019) propose a fourth pillar to the traditional three pillars of DLE (high-academic achievement, bilingualism and biliteracy, and social competence). Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) define critical consciousness as "the process of overcoming pervasive myths through a deep understanding of the role of power in the formation of oppressive conditions" based on Freire's (2013) work on critical consciousness (p. 27). These authors argue that adding critical consciousness to the list will make stakeholders responsible or accountable for "engaging in the growing awareness of the structural oppression in society and readiness to take action to correct it" (Cervantes-Soon et. al, 2017, p. 27). Palmer et al. (2019) define critical consciousness as the ability "to reflectively discern the differences in power and privilege rooted in social relationships that structure inequalities and shape the material conditions of our lives…" (p. 123). By being critically conscious, stakeholders can engage in work that critically analyzes instructional practices, curriculum, and policies.

Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) believe that TWI education should include a critical consciousness, which would ideally create a more equitable space for bilingual education,

particularly for emergent bilingual students. As TWI programs expand, the interests of the English speaker may overtake those of the minority language speakers (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017). The authors used two research questions to inform their literature review, including, "What manifestations of inequalities/inequities have been documented in research on TWI?" and "What are the prevalent discourses and frameworks in the study and promotion of TWI?" (p. 404). Cervantes-Soon et al. examined 80 papers and six books that lead them to five specific areas of inequality for their initial thematic coding. The authors used these codes to look for relationships between themes and defined three specific areas of inequalities: the sociopolitical context, teacher-focused contexts, and classroom/student contexts (p. 408). I will discuss each in turn.

Like Palmer (2010), Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) used interest convergence to demonstrate that racial integration and equity only occur if the White population perceives these topics to be in its interest. The strand model is an example of serving the interests of the White population instead of serving immigrant communities in which the emergent bilingual students would benefit (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017). In their study, the TWI programs were more accessible to English-speaking families because district efforts to recruit these families did not explain the programs to Spanish-speaking families (p. 409). Cervantes-Soon et al. addressed the notion of interest convergence in relation to the distinction of enrichment for White families. I frequently think of this irony when people discuss TWI or language immersion as a "gift" for English-speaking students while many schools strip emergent bilinguals of their home languages.

Like Valdes (1997), Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) documented the role of the teacher in the TWI program. These authors found teachers' linguistic backgrounds,

training, and ideologies influenced their classroom practices. Cervantes-Soon et al. demonstrated how classroom discourses favor English-dominant students due to the unequal balance between languages, the teacher's overcorrection of Spanish, and the use of an I-R-E (Initiate, Response, Evaluate) approach that favors middle-class parent-child discourse patterns (p. 414). The authors argued that a child-centered approach, such as language brokering (translating and mediating, for example), might be better for comprehension but acknowledged that this practice has its downside too. For example, students who need the language brokering (those less fluent in English, for example) may be looked down upon by their classmates. Those students with the most ability to broker might also become overwhelmed by helping their peers. A former student of mine who teaches a first-grade Spanish immersion class told me she has one student who is a native Spanish-speaker. Due to the overwhelming number of NES students who ask this NSS to translate, the teacher puts a sign out for the student that reads "I'm working" so her classmates do not constantly ask her translation questions. This example demonstrates the language-brokering theme that Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) discussed.

Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) also addressed the challenge of integrating students from different backgrounds through the TWI model. The authors mentioned that research on TWI has not explored how undocumented children might experience this education model, particularly as it differs immensely from how their English-speaking peers might experience it. African American students are also frequently left out of the conversation on TWI (Palmer, 2010). Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) argued that much fostering of cross-cultural relations could change these "power asymmetries" within these classrooms (p. 416).

Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) also criticized the traditional focus on student outcomes of TWI research. They found both critical and ethnographic approaches to TWI, but they found the field still largely focuses on academic outcomes. In many instances, these outcomes compare bilingual students to their monolingual peers, which is not an accurate representation, as bilinguals have a larger language repertoire. Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) argued that the field does not account for the knowledge that children have nor for how they view the world.

To move forward to address the inequalities in TWI, Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) proposed the fourth goal of critical consciousness. This critical consciousness would develop through a politically oriented curriculum and humanizing research projects. This fourth pillar of TWI involves acknowledging the different power dynamics within TWI so that each stakeholder involved can reframe these spaces to develop cross-cultural understanding and greater equality. Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) encouraged individuals to examine the sense of self in relation to others to understand these power dynamics. The authors also questioned the idea of teaching the same curriculum in two languages because it favors "whitestream curriculum" (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017, p. 421). Researchers working with families and children could help develop a new curriculum that builds on these families' linguistic repertoires and transcultural experiences. I agree with their argument that the critical component of TWI, critical consciousness, is important, but it is also the most complex because it involves deep and thoughtful conversations about race and class. Not only can these be uncomfortable topics to discuss, but they also require self-reflection and shifts in mindset. I agree that this shift is important, but for me, Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) registered as overly idealistic because of interest

convergence. It appears to me that the majority population would not want critical consciousness in TWI because that critical consciousness has the potential to take the power from the dominant group.

Because of the difficulty of including or establishing equity in TWI, similar to Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017), Palmer et al. (2019) proposed adding a fourth pillar, or a "core goal," that will help "stakeholders keep equity in the forefront of their minds: the development of critical consciousness" (p. 122). They argued that if critical consciousness is a goal of TWI, similar to academic achievement, bilingualism and biliteracy, and social competence, then stakeholders can maintain this focus and "fulfill their potential to support a more integrated and socially just society" (p. 123). Palmer et al. also argued that critical consciousness must be an integrated part of the DLE model due to the integration of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, and racial backgrounds. Palmer et al. acknowledged that equity is still an important concept in TWI and that cultivating this awareness will help teachers, parents, and students take action to support social justice and increased equity.

Palmer et al. (2019) expanded on critical consciousness by offering four specific elements to it. I use these elements not only for my own understanding of critical consciousness, but also as a way to frame the issue and elaborate on it in this study. The four elements Palmer et al. introduced were interrogating power, critical listening, historicizing schools, and embracing discomfort. I will discuss each of these concepts next as a way for me to understand and organize my research.

Continuously Interrogating Power. To support equity, it is important that power structures are constantly revisited and examined at every level, including district, school,

and classroom levels. This is particularly true because our education system is designed and shaped by middle-class norms. For example, in the TWI context, interrogating power can relate to examining who has voice within the TWI context (are the parent meetings always conducted in English, for example?). Even with Spanish translation, this example could demonstrate who has more opportunity to share their voices. Another example might be having dual PTAs at schools so that Spanish-speaking families can be heard if a one-structure model is not working. Teachers can also push against inequities. I remember, for example, being told to forgo teaching in Spanish because of an upcoming English high-stakes assessment. I refused, as I was not willing to give up my instructional time to cater to an assessment.

Historicizing Schools and Educational Policy Contexts. This element is crucial to the understanding of and implementation of a critical consciousness. TWI programs were established in the United States as a response to civil rights issues, affirmative action, and equality of educational opportunity (Baker, 2011, p. 183).

In this context, educators must acknowledge that programs came into existence as a way to ensure and protect the rights of families and students. As these programs have increased in popularity, the "Whitening" of the programs could disconnect the programs from their history. Palmer et al. (2019) argued that acknowledging this history could help re-center the interests of language minority groups and disrupt dominant power structures. Furthermore, Palmer et al. argued that all parents, not just language minority families, should be aware of the context surrounding the struggles for bilingual education. It is important that students have access to the histories of the different communities represented in their classrooms.

Critical Listening. This component aims to engage education stakeholders for "meaningful and transformative connection, and it embodies a relation of curiousity and attending, sharing, caring, reciprocity and responsivity toward others" (Palmer et al., 2019, p. 126). Critical listening should also acknowledge privilege. This critical listening happens both within the classroom and within community spaces, such as among parent groups. An example that Palmer et al. (2019) cited was an email from a privileged parent who went to talk with another parent at her taco truck, meeting the Latina parent in her "own space" (p. 127). This experience gave the middle-class mother a new perspective and also compelled her to change the language policy for the parent meetings. Critical listening builds empathy and helps ensure the perspectives of all parents are understood, which is particularly important for minority communities.

Embracing Discomfort. As we engage in the important work of TWI with a critical consciousness, it is important to acknowledge discomfort, particularly as some of these conversations or spaces require acknowledging privilege, for example, that many White people take for granted. Palmer et al. (2019) gave the example of a school that stopped making morning announcements bilingually because an English-speaking parent said the Spanish made him uncomfortable. In this example, the school administration decided that the comfort of this one English-speaker was more important than that of the Spanish speakers. The concept of embracing discomfort is about confronting and changing situations, such as in the example here, so that we "unpack and interrogate the deeply rooted emotions that produce daily habits and behaviors; this helps us to recognize our unconscious privilege or feelings of marginalization…" (Palmer et al., 2019, p. 198). Palmer et al. provided the example of a school that ran parent meetings in Spanish and

had parents find a "bilingual pair" so that they could understand the meeting, putting the English speakers—many for the first time—in the discomfort that comes with learning a new language and being in the position where they might not understand what the discussion is about or what was happening around them (a reality for many language minority speakers who come to the United States with minimal English language skills). It is important also to acknowledge that speakers from language minority communities also have opportunities to embrace discomfort, for example by speaking up and sharing their concerns.

Equity in Dual Language Education

Some scholars aim to define equity (Espinoza, 2007; Jordan, 2010; Monk, 1990; Murphy, 1988), while other scholars use it as a frame of reference for a study (Sugarman, 2012). While there are many topics associated with equity, educational equity is framed largely in terms of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which determined that racially isolated schools were "inherently unequal" (Jordan, 2010, p. 143). While many scholars examine equity in relation to DLE (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Palmer & Martinez, 2013; Valdes, 1997; Valdez et al., 2016), educational equity is also present in comprehensive studies and meta-analyses (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Rolstad, et al., 2008; Thomas & Collier, 1997; 2002) because these studies document effective programs for ELL students. Palmer and Martinez (2013) highlighted the idea of dual-language classrooms as "designed intentionally to disrupt the status quo and to offer 'extraordinary pedagogies' to bilingual children in U.S. schools" (p. 283). Disrupting the status quo also relates to the concept of educational equity because it takes away privilege from the dominant group through a focus on bilingual children. Alanis and Rodriguez (2008)

wrote, “It is the kind of access ELs have to high-status knowledge and the quality of instructional interactions in dual language programs that defines educational quality and promotes greater equity” (p. 317). This idea and concept of quality instruction should also apply to mainstream education programs, but the native language instruction differentiates the DLE model. In my review of the literature, I found various scholars with definitions of equity that resonated with me. Monk (1990) stated that equity is the “willingness to accept the unequal treatment of unequals” (p. 37). For example, students living in poverty might need a free-lunch option at school, or free expanded care, whereas affluent students may be able to pay for lunch and extra-curricular activities. Jordan (2010) discussed the concept of equity in relation to context, arguing that we cannot understand educational equity, or inequities, without consideration of other social issues, such as housing, employment, and criminal justice (p. 173). I agree that there are many additional factors that influence equity and that context is extremely important. In his article, Jordan asked what the purpose of education is to understand how learning is distributed across race, ethnicity, and social class. Jordan concluded that we need to create a context in which students are “nurtured socially and intellectually and given real opportunities to learn high-content, standards-based material” (p. 174). He defined equity as “quality of care,” (p. 174), which I argue varies enormously for EL students compared to monolingual students or for students of different social classes. I agree that context is critical, and equity, or equitable access, should include the context of a DLE program. Samoff (1996) summarized the differences between equity and equality:

> To achieve equity—justice—may require structured inequalities, at least temporarily. Achieving equal access, itself a very difficult challenge, is a first step

> toward achieving equity. To define equity as equality functions to distract attention from injustice rather than exploring and addressing the links between discrimination and injustice. (p. 266)

Like Sugarman found (2012), I found Murphy's (1988) notion of "alterable educational variables" useful for understanding equity in the educational context (p. 145). Murphy described these variables as "those school processes that can be manipulated by school personnel" (p. 146). He provided examples of these variables that included the use of time and instructional strategies. An educational model, such as DLE or SEI, would fit into his categorization of an alterable education variable. Murphy discussed the notion of equity in terms of student access to learning, which he described as being a different concept from earlier, when equity was defined as access to school and then access to resources. Murphy described knowledge of resource allocation as "insufficient" (p. 146) and asserted that we must know the *quality* of the teaching or the curriculum, not just that teachers are in classrooms or that the school follows a curriculum. Murphy discussed educational equity in terms of four concepts and how they help or hinder student access to learning. These four concepts are instruction, time, curriculum content, and success. For each of these themes, Murphy addressed the problem of students in lower ability groups receiving less-prepared teachers, less academic time, "poorer" curricular coverage, and less success than higher tracked students (p. 148).

In addition to the concept of student access to learning, Murphy (1988) described the importance of policy analysis at the local level involving teachers, principals, and superintendents. Murphy argued that local stakeholders are critical to equalizing educational opportunities for students because of how equity is determined through local

resources, such as instruction, time, and curriculum. Murphy's final premise was that "alterable educational variables…are associated with differences in outcomes for students" (p.145). I place DLE and TWI models in the category of alterable educational variables because they are specific programs that can alter educational outcomes, particularly for students who are non-native speakers of English. DLE programs are a form of educational equity because they provide students with language instruction that could change their academic trajectory. Murphy placed the operationalization of educational equity at the teacher and district level because equity is directly dependent on the actions of the staff. While I do agree that educational equity must be operationalized by the school staff, I think this notion simplifies the challenges involved in achieving equity, particularly in gentrifying contexts where the needs and interests of different populations can compete with each other. I will address this concept in more detail in the discussion section of this dissertation.

Espinoza (2007) addressed the controversies surrounding equity and equality. His purpose was to create an equality/equity goal-oriented model, "which allows the combination of different dimensions for each concept with different stages of the educational process" (p. 343). Espinoza posited that there is disagreement and confusion among scholars in terms of what equality and equity mean and in terms of what they involve regarding goals. Espinoza cited philosophers to define equality, including Aristotle, Plato, and Rousseau, and described the debate about equality between scholars, some who take inequalities as a "given;" and others, critical theorists, who see inequality as a "social ill that requires treatment" (p. 346). Espinoza questioned whether we could have equity, or equality, in a "society that prioritizes efficiency in resource management

over social justice" (p. 343). As I have previously defined equity in terms of economic concepts, I think it important to mention this comment about placing efficiency ahead of social justice. Grounded in critical theory, Espinoza discussed equity in terms of "fairness," in which he described equity theory and the idea that resources are allocated in terms of inputs or contributions. Similar to Murphy (1988), Espinoza discussed the concepts of inputs and outputs, with inputs being the contributions that an individual makes and outputs being the benefits enjoyed by the individuals (p. 349). Espinoza posited that the problem with this definition of equity theory is that it is one-dimensional: "It employs a one-dimensional concept of fairness and emphasizes only the fairness of distribution, ignoring the fairness of procedure" (p. 349). The alternative to this equity theory is one based on both distributional and procedural elements. In this sense, the distribution is based on need, and fairness is judged in terms of the process and procedure. The two-dimensional view of equity, that is the distribution and the process of how resources are distributed, is important in evaluating equitable access to DLE programs within the focal district of this study. For example, if equity is based on need, one may argue that the EL students have more to gain from a DLE program because of this model's ability to improve academic outcomes. Second, if we think about the lottery as a process, we can consider whether this process is equitable. I will revisit this idea in the Discussion section of this paper.

To distinguish between the concepts of equity and equality, Espinoza (2007) presented a new model, the "equity-equality goal-oriented model." Espinoza explained this educational model includes access to education and access to financial, social, and cultural resources. He divided equity into three different buckets, mainly, (a) equity for

equal needs, (b) equity for equal potential, and (c) equity for equal achievement. While his model provides one way to look at equity in education, specifically as different from equality, I find it difficult to navigate. For example, in terms of access to education, he defined equity for equal needs as access at both the individual and group level. Espinoza proposed this model as a way of measuring equality and equity in relation to different features, specifically in terms of "availability of resources, access, survival, output, and outcome" (p. 343). Espinoza argued that the concept of equity is associated with fairness or justice, whereas equality is sameness in treatment (p. 345). Because equity involves this "subjective moral or ethical judgement," Espinoza stated that equity assessments are more problematic because they may differ in the ways that people interpret the concept of equity. He discussed that equity could mean shares, which are determined by "need, effort expended, ability to pay, results achieved, ascription to any group," and resources, and that more equity may mean less equality.

Lindholm-Leary (2018) argued that programs need to consider how they will support EL students within the program model, such as the division of language (50/50 versus 90/10), and how they will get community input in making this decision. Lindholm-Leary examined equity in four main areas: administrative equity, programmatic equity, schools, and parents/community in relation to the establishment or structure of DLE. Administrative equity is the concept that there is strong support for the program at the district level along the chain of command. This support will help the program access materials in the partner language, such as curriculum and assessments. Administrative equity also stipulates that the needs of all student populations are considered in planning the program.

Cervantes-Soon (2018) addressed social justice in programs designed to attract mainstream students while also educating minority and immigrant populations. Her argument was that the minority population's needs should be the priority for these programs because these students have been "historically undervalued and underserved by the education system" (p. 14). In her view, the "moral compass" (p. 3) of DLE programs has been appropriated by the interests of the majority students, and now language is viewed as a linguistic commodity for global economic interests. According to Cervantes-Soon, the problem is not just the inability to implement equitable strategies, but also the lack of social justice orientation is a "critical factor in the inequity built into many programs" (p. 14). Because Cervantes-Soon did not see this perspective changing in the near future, she proposed a fourth pillar of DLE, critical-consciousness, which is part of my conceptual framework. She argued that educators must constantly reflect on their practice through a social justice lens and consider and confront how they might contribute to inequities in an effort to create a more socially just classroom.

Sugarman (2012) described the three different topics of equity in terms of equity of inputs, meaning equity of student access to schooling and resources, equity of outcomes (generally in terms of student achievement, such as graduation rates or test scores), and equity in relation to Murphy's (1988) "alterable educational variables," which include curriculum and instructional time, among others (p. 20). Sugarman described Espinoza's (2007) notion of how equity becomes a social or political issue when groups are disadvantaged relative to one another (p. 22). Sugarman discussed "differential access," under which a DLE model would fall, because it means using specially designed materials, specific teacher training, or different instructional strategies

(p. 22). In relation to multicultural education, Sugarman presented Banks' (1995) five-dimensional model for multicultural education and equity in relation to DLE, which "fosters equity for language minority students by incorporating effective pedagogical approaches and by transforming the environment in which those approaches are implemented" (as cited in Sugarman, 2012, p. 23). Sugarman noted that no studies to date had attempted to operationalize the notion of equity (p. 28), and therefore she reviewed research in which the authors framed their studies "as relevant to equity, equality, empowerment, social justice, or DLE programs as serving the needs of English language learners or at-risk students" (p. 28).

Sugarman (2012) examined 10 empirical studies of dual language education implementation in terms of how the researchers looked at policies and practices that contributed to equity or inequity. She found these studies had different methodological approaches, including discourse analysis, ethnography, and action research. She grouped these studies thematically into three different areas. The first four studies included those in which the classroom demonstrated a commitment and attention to equity. Her second section looked at studies in which authors "interpret as diminishing equity within the classroom and detract from the attainment of program goals (p. 29). Lastly, Sugarman looked at studies specific to language ideology and student use of language, particularly the influences on choices to speak English or Spanish. Sugarman also discussed the theoretical principles that support DLE related to equity, including additive bilingualism, DLE programs that address the segregation issue by integrating native Spanish-speakers in the same classroom as native English-speakers, and multicultural approaches to curriculum and pedagogy. These programs are intended to strengthen the sense of

cultural and language identity; have the ability to form cross-cultural friendships, and can develop resilience, cross-cultural conflict resolution skills, and an awareness of power dynamics and privilege in students (p.25).

Sugarman (2012) used the book *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* by Howard et al. (2018) as a tool to interpret equity and included perspectives on equity from the teachers in reference to this source. While Sugarman focused on teachers and administrators, her theoretical explanation of equity, combined with her analysis and the context of understanding equity in DLE, is useful for the purposes of my literature review and dissertation study. Sugarman found that educators had varying definitions of equity, some discussing the ideal learning environment, the challenges to equity and addressing these challenges, or their educational philosophies regarding equity (p. 96). Through the 15 participants' perspectives, Sugarman found five themes emerged, which were (a) the cultivation of an environment where English and Spanish have equal status, (b) diverse students positioned and recognized as equals, (c) the curriculum reflecting the goals of bilingualism and biliteracy, (d) the use of multicultural materials and curriculum, and (e) student access to the curriculum and educational resources (p. 97). Sugarman discussed each of these themes and specific participant examples of how they saw equity in these contexts.

While equity is important for all students, I am particularly interested in equitable access to DLE programs for Spanish-speaking EB students. While I discuss the notion of equity, I focus on equitable access, which refers to populations having access to the resources they need and would best help them meet the educational challenges of school. In this case, I argue that the Latinx population should have more equitable access to DLE

because of the ability to connect with one's culture and community through one's own native language, and the academic benefits of this model versus other models, such as ESOL, or SEI.

Conclusion

There is a plethora of frameworks, or orientations, that could serve as a base for which to frame my study. I chose to highlight the combination of orientations in language planning (Ruiz, 1984), interest convergence (Bell, 1980), critical consciousness (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019), and equity (Espinoza, 2007; Monk, 1990; Murphy, 1988) because these concepts encase my perspective and views on DLE and equitable access to this model. I believe that traditionally marginalized populations, such as EB students, should have access to these programs, not only as a way to improve academic achievement, but also as a fundamental way to promote and ensure native language maintenance, realize full biliteracy, and nurture EB students' linguistic and cultural identity within the context of the educational system. My framework, particularly the coupling of interest convergence and critical consciousness, provides a unique and important way to view and answer my research questions. Interest convergence, while favoring the interests of the majority, English-speaking population, can also benefit the minority Spanish-speaking EB population if the two populations' interests are coupled together. It is when the interests of the historically marginalized populations are ignored that interest convergence has negative consequences.

Dual Language Education

Methodology

The methodologic approaches of DLE research present a wide variety of techniques. Because such a large quantity of the literature revolves around academic achievement and outcomes of learners, quantitative methods involving data collection and regression analysis are plentiful. The studies that examine examples of successful models are largely case studies of specific schools, some of which also employ quantitative methods. Therefore, it is difficult to broadly generalize the type of study used for DLE research.

The research examined in this section includes several comprehensive quantitative studies (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002) that examine effective educational practices for large populations of ELLs and their academic outcomes. I have included case studies of several TWI programs that report on specific schools (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008; De Jesus, 2008; de Jong, 2002; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004). Some authors use meta-analysis to examine the best type of education for ELLs (Rolstad et al., 2005, 2008) or to challenge earlier claims about the ineffectiveness of bilingual education (Greene, 1997). Literature reviews that examine the components of success in DLE (Lindholm-Leary, 2005) or best practices for EB students (Genesee et al., 2005) provide the reader with a comprehensive idea of some of the work in this field.

My analysis of the literature for this review also leads me to believe that mixed methodology studies are an appropriate and productive way to examine DLE. For example, a case study that involves a particular program and its academic outcomes could look at student data as well as interviews with key stakeholders (parents, students, and

administrators) to tie the stakeholders' perspectives of the program to the quantitative data.

Structure

Baker and Wright (2017) categorize eleven different types of bilingual education, all of which are associated with different linguistic outcomes and categorized as monolingual, weak, and strong forms. First, Baker and Wright define the monolingual education typologies as models for language minority students with the goal of assimilating them to the mainstream language, with the exception of a segregationist model that aims for apartheid for that language minority. Placing the student in a mainstream classroom with no support of the language minority is also a form of monolingual education. Mainstreaming with pullout means that students are in a mainstream classroom and may have additional support to learn the majority language, similar to an English-as-a-second-language model. Sheltered (Structured) Immersion means that students may receive ESL from their classroom teacher, but with a modified curriculum to help the students who are not yet proficient in the majority language to learn content (p. 203). This model is designed for EL students because it uses materials that may be simplified, various instructional strategies, and materials that help develop students' vocabulary and (English) language development. A mainstream model with none of these supports or with a teacher who had no credentials to work with EL students, also known as "submersion," was found to violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the 1974 Supreme Court case of *Lau v. Nichols*. It required that U.S. schools provide additional supports to address the learning needs of the EL students (Baker & Wright, 2017, p. 202). Table 1 summarizes the monolingual forms of bilingual education.

Table 1

Monolingual Forms of Bilingual Education

Type of program	Typical type of child	Language of the classroom	Societal and educational aim	Aim in language outcome
Mainstreaming/Submersion	Language minority	Majority language	Assimilation/Subtractive	Monolingualism
Mainstreaming/Submersion with pullout majority language instruction support	Language minority	Majority language	Assimilation/Subtractive	Monolingualism
Sheltered (Structured) Immersion	Language minority	Majority language	Assimilation	Monolingualism
Segregationist	Language minority	Minority language (forced, no choice)	Apartheid	Monolingualism

Note. Adapted from *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* by C. Baker and W. E. Wright, 2017, Multilingual Matters.

Weak types of bilingual education are transitional, mainstreaming, and separatist. The transitional and separatist models are for the language minority with the goal of assimilation (transitional), or autonomy (separatist). In a transitional bilingual model, some instruction is provided in the student's home language with the goal of transitioning the student away from that language and to the mainstream language. While this model does provide some academic instruction in the student's home language, the goals are to move the student to English proficiency and to stop the use of the student's home language. Table 2 summarizes weak forms of bilingual education.

Table 2

Weak Forms of Bilingual Education

Type of program	Typical type of child	Language of the classroom	Societal and educational aim	Aim in language outcome
Transitional	Language minority	Moves from minority to majority language	Assimilation/Subtractive	Relative monolingualism
Mainstreaming with world (foreign) language teaching	Language majority	Majority language with L2/FL lessons	Limited environment	Limited Bilingualism
Separatist	Language minority	Minority language (out of choice)	Detachment/Autonomy	Limited bilingualism

Note. Adapted from *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* by C. Baker and W. E. Wright, 2017, Multilingual Matters.

The "strong" types of bilingual education all aim for a goal of bilingualism and include immersion, maintenance or heritage language, two-way or dual language, and mainstream bilingual. Table 3 summarizes strong forms of bilingual education. Within the strong models of DLE, there are two specific variations, commonly referred to as "50:50" and "90:10" (Baker, 2011; Gomez et al., 2005; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 1998). In the "50:50" model, half the time is spent in the target language and the other half is spent in English. This division could be daily (morning in Spanish, afternoon in English, for example), or it could be on a daily rotation, usually on a 10-day cycle to balance the use of both languages (one day Spanish, one day English). The "90:10" model involves 90% of instruction time spent in the target language and 10% in English.

Table 3

Strong Forms of Bilingual Education

Type of program	Typical type of child	Language of the classroom	Societal and educational aim	Aim in language outcome
Immersion	Language majority	Bilingual with initial emphasis on L2	Pluralism and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Maintenance/Heritage language	Language minority	Bilingual with initial emphasis on L1	Maintenance, pluralism, and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Two-Way/Dual language	Mixed language minority and majority	Minority and majority	Maintenance, pluralism, and enrichment	Bilingualism and biliteracy
Mainstream bilingual	Language majority	Two majority languages	Maintenance, biliteracy, and enrichment	Bilingualism

Note. Adapted from *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* by C. Baker and W. E. Wright, 2017, Multilingual Matters.

90:10 Model. Alanis and Rodriguez (2008) cite City Elementary School, located in an urban area in south central Texas. The school's 90:10 model in which kindergarten and first-grade are 90% Spanish and 10 % English, second grade is 80% Spanish and 20% English, third grade is 70% Spanish and 30% English, and fourth and fifth-grades are 50% of each language (p. 309). Part of the rationale for the 90:10 model is that the target language is largely unsupported by the majority community; therefore, more emphasis is placed on its acquisition in the school setting (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008, Gomez, et al., 2005). My review of the literature leads me to conclude that the City

Elementary School example is not unique; the 90:10 model generally adds 10% English instruction each year until reaching a 50:50 distribution of language.

Alanis and Rodriguez (2008) document a 90:10 school program in which only about 29% of the student population claims Spanish as their home language. In this specific case study, 87.8% of the student body was Mexican American (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008, p. 308), and perhaps the 90:10 model supported the students' sense of identity with the Spanish language, even though most of the students did not report speaking it at home. The authors did not provide additional information that might be beneficial for understanding the rationale of this model. For example, did the parents identify with Spanish as their native language, or English? Also, the authors mentioned that "English-speaking parents have the option of placing their students in the two-way program or in an all-English classroom," but they made no mention of the Spanish-speaking families (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008, p. 308). This leads me to wonder who, exactly, is the target of this dual-language program, and where do the NSS go within this model. It is unclear if the NSS are automatically placed in this dual language program, or if they are automatically placed in the English mainstream classroom. The authors stated that NES could only enter the program in pre-K, kindergarten, or first grade but that NSS could enter any time, which perhaps supports the idea of native language instruction for Spanish speakers. Therefore, while this 90:10 model program is touted as a model for success, one might argue that it is unclear how students are selected for the program and how placement is determined. The other piece that is missing is any discussion about the non-diverse population: the school studied by Alanis and Rodriguez was almost 90% Mexican American. One of the goals was "to cultivate an understanding and appreciation

of other cultures and to develop positive attitudes toward fellow students, their families, and the community" (p. 309), but this program does not appear to have represented diversity. While the 90:10 model could be a good match for the particular population in question, the authors did not provide the reader with sufficient explanation regarding demographics and language to draw her own conclusions.

50:50 Model. Gomez et al. (2005) discussed a 50:50 model that divides language by content, such as math instruction in English and science instruction in Spanish. One of the components that is interesting about their model is that they researched it in a Hispanic community. They explained, "The model has been successfully implemented in regions with high concentrations of Latino students. It does not require a 50-50 balance of native English speakers and native Spanish speakers" (p. 145). Gomez et al. claimed their model is particularly suited for areas with high populations of ELLs. This model was originally developed and implemented in the Rio Grande Valley along the Texas border with Mexico. It is important to note that language arts takes place in the student's native language in pre-K and kindergarten, then switches to English in first through fifth grades. The idea is that content is consistently delivered in one language to avoid a lesson being repeated in the other language (Gomez et al., 2005, p. 153). The authors also argued that the consistency of teaching one subject in one language allows students to develop the appropriate vocabulary and "ensure that there is no translation or clarification in the primary language during any subject-area instruction" (p. 154). In this model, mathematics was taught in English, while science and social studies were taught in Spanish. While the authors provided the rationale for this decision (math is more hands-on, it has limited text, it is universal, parents can help more easily), the time allocated for

math was equal to the time for science and social studies combined. One might argue that this division was likely to give these subjects short shrift and a shallow foundation. I think this division also demonstrates that English is the more important language, even though time-wise the languages are balanced. The authors do not mention that math might be taught in English because of the standardized Texas Assessment of Knowledge (TAKS) (which is offered in both Spanish and English in third through sixth grades); this assessment is part of the rationale regarding the division of language. The authors did include TAKS third-grade student test scores (in English) to demonstrate that their model had academic impact, but they cautioned the reader that "meeting a TAKS standard only requires a student to answer a few more than half the questions correctly" (Gomez, et al., 2005, p. 163). Also, given that there were no results provided for Spanish-language, science, or social studies—the data only shows the English language arts and math scores—one could argue that we do not really know the student outcomes of this 50:50 content model. I infer that the lack of inclusion of Spanish data demonstrates the importance and power of English and does not provide the full picture of academic-outcomes for these students (which also makes me wonder if the model did not demonstrate positive student achievement).

Lindholm-Leary (2005) also defined the 50:50 model by the even breakdown of time, but they added to the discussion by mentioning two different types of initial literacy instruction: the simultaneous model and the successive model (p. 57). In the simultaneous model, reading instruction begins in both languages in kindergarten, whereas in the successive model, reading instruction begins in the student's native language with second language literacy beginning in third grade.

What is the Difference? Given these two models, one might ask which is more effective for language acquisition. Some authors have looked at this division (see Lindholm-Leary, 2001), and the literature is fairly consistent in its assessment of both. The differences between the models do not impact English language development, and both NSS and NES demonstrate "high-levels of oral English proficiency" (Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008). For Spanish language acquisition, the 90:10 model demonstrates advantages for both NES and NSS students. Generally, students in the 90:10 model become more bilingually proficient than students in the 50:50 model (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008). This observation makes sense because DLE students are learning a language that is not the same as that of mainstream society. Therefore, I would think that more intensive exposure to this language, at least in the early elementary years, would promote their proficiency, particularly for English-speaking students.

The rationale for the 90:10 program is to support the language that is not dominant in mainstream society by using a model similar to the full immersion model in the early years, then gradually balancing out the two languages. This concept makes sense if students do not typically have exposure to the other language outside of the classroom. What is interesting to think about—although it did not come up in the literature reviewed—is the representation of language. For example, is there a perception that Spanish-speaking kids "need" to learn how to read more than English-speaking kids do, so Spanish should be used? Or is it simply that the target language is the same for all students, regardless of background? I raise these questions to establish whether there is a cultural view that defines and defends the use of one model over the other. If the program

is balanced by population, with 50% native-English-speaking participants and 50% native-Spanish-speaking participants, how do the English speakers fare with only 10% of instruction in their native language? I would argue that part of the answer to these questions is what Alanis and Rodriguez (2008) discussed regarding the focus on the non-society language, which benefits both its native speakers and the English-speaking children trying to learn a second language. I understand the English-speakers have the benefit of the world at large dominated by their language (in the United States), but I do wonder if there is an underlying notion, particularly in lower socioeconomic settings, that the NSS "need" English language instruction more than their NES peers.

Lastly, what role does the political climate play in the choice of model? For example, the 50:50 model might be viewed as a more "balanced" program between the languages, while the 90:10 model in favor of the target language might cause some populations to be concerned about lack of assimilation for NSS students. Districts may be led to choose 50:50 model implementation because of standardized assessments in English, and parents may prefer this model so they know their children are receiving enough English instruction. The 90:10 model in a language other than English may be viewed as a threat to dominant culture. For example, in a brief conversation with Garrett Delavan, he explained that because the population in the areas of 90:10 schools is mostly Latinx, the programs are not considered DLE by the state and therefore do not receive funding (personal conversation, April 2015). I will address this case specifically in the Cautions Surrounding DLE section of this review.

While these models may offer different ratios of language instruction, both offer language through content. In theory, both programs are 50:50 by late elementary school,

and the specific model chosen likely depends on the context and the balance of students in the program. The appeal of the 90:10 model is that it gives students the immersion experience in a language that is not used in society at large while gradually incorporating more English. In the district of this study, the school administration determines what type of model the school employs. One participant told me that more "brave principals" are starting to employ the 90:10 model, specifically in the early childhood education years (pre-K and kindergarten).

Goals of Dual Language Education

High Academic Achievement; Bilingual and Biliterate. The overarching goal of dual-language education is "that both ELLs and native-English speakers become bilingual and bi-literate in both languages" (Umansky et al., 2015, p. 13). Throughout the literature, these goals are consistent. Dual language education programs by design are additive or enrichment models that aim to create bilingual citizens. We can consider the three pillars of bilingual education: (a) bilingualism and biliteracy, (b) grade-level academic achievement, and (c) sociocultural competence (Howard, et al., 2018). Dual language programs generally employ Ruiz's (1984) language-as-resource orientation. Language-as-resource implies not only that language is helpful for economic movements, but also that language has the "ability to build social bridges across different groups and bridges for increasing cultural understanding" (Baker, 2011, p. 382). This concept ties into the idea of balanced populations in DLE programs because each cohort would have the opportunity to serve as the experts and learn from each other.

Within true dual language programs, all students experience learning a second language, and this experience indicates a sense of comradery around what it means to be

a language learner. As De Jesus (2008) explained, “In a dual program, both the English language learner and English-dominant student are, at times, second language learners” (p. 209). This distinction is important because most of the literature regards Spanish-speaking students learning English, but in true dual language programs, NES students are learning a second language too.

Soltero-Gonzalez at al. (2016) argued that a paired literacy program is “an instructional approach that provides literacy instruction in the students’ home language and English, at different times during the day…” and that this approach is effective for students with different home languages (p. 4). While the specific literature on paired literacy is beyond the scope of this review, it merits mention because it contradicts the previous claim of establishing L1 literacy skills prior to learning an additional language (Cummins, 1981). In their longitudinal study of EB students, Soltero-Gonzalez et al. found that 79% of the students that took the Oregon state assessment for reading (OAKS) in English met or exceeded the standard, compared to 49% of the students in the sequential literacy group (p. 20). Their results demonstrate that teaching bilingual students simultaneously in their home language and English can have positive effects on English reading achievement and bi-literacy development.

As mentioned, dual language programs are also seen as an enrichment, or additive program. According to Mora et al. (2001),

> “True” immersion programs take an additive approach to bilingualism and are elective enrichment programs established by parents who wish to give their children the advantages of becoming bilingual and bi-literate. With the growing awareness of linguistic human rights, dual language immersion programs are

> often cited as the best manner to provide minority students with equitable education, as well as developing bilingualism in language majority students. Ideally, minority and majority students exit the program fully bilingual and achieve high levels of academic success in both languages. (p. 439)

Howard at al. (2003) discussed four specific goals for TWI programs, which are that students will develop high levels of proficiency (speaking, listening, reading, writing) in their native language, students will also develop high levels of proficiency in a second language, academic achievement will be at or above grade level, and students "will demonstrate positive cross-cultural attitudes and behaviors" (p. 4). These goals are in line with the others found in this literature reviewed; although the authors mentioned the specific areas for proficiency, they did not quantify what it means to be proficient. Also, academic achievement at or above grade level gives the reader an idea of what this means, but it lacks specificity. For example, what assessment should be used to evaluate academic achievement? What are the parameters for this measurement? Does the assessment take into consideration time spent in the program?

In general, the literature reviewed here represents similar ideas about what it means to be bilingual and biliterate but lacks specificity. For example, is one considered bilingual only if she can have the same conversation in two different languages, or is there room for variation among languages? For example, an avid sailor might not be able to reference all the sailing terms in her second language, but that does not mean that she is not bilingual. I think this fragment of the research would benefit from a more specific exploration of what bilingual and biliterate mean and how those definitions vary depending on the context.

Socio-Cultural Competence. Socio-cultural competence, or biculturalism is frequently mentioned as one of the goals of DLE (Mora, et al., 2001; Lindholm-Leary, 2012), although it is the least explained in the literature and probably the most difficult to define. What does it mean to develop bicultural students? How does one assess biculturalism, and can a student be bi-culturally proficient? Culturally competent? Socioculturally competent? I understand biculturalism to mean fostering cross-cultural relations among students from different backgrounds, creating understanding and easing tensions among groups that may not usually interact with each other. While this literature review did not focus on specific studies that stated biculturalism as a goal, I am surprised by the lack of mention and explanation in the studies reviewed. My interpretation of the absence of this element is that biculturalism is hard to measure, and from a policy perspective, there is more interest in student achievement than on cultural competence.

Outcomes

There is an abundance of empirical research indicating the benefits of dual-language instruction for both minority and majority language students (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008; de Jong, 2002; Gomez et al., 2005; Lindholm-Leary 2001; Quintanar-Sarellana, 2004; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2002; Umansky and Reardon, 2014). I also include two meta-analyses (Greene, 1997; Rolstad, et al., 2005, 2008). I will review these studies to understand how they define achievement and to discern whether there is consensus in the field. While some studies offer Spanish assessment data, I primarily document English reading achievement and standardized test results. I do not document Spanish assessment data because of the lack of comparison with a monolingual population, although I realize comparing bilingual students to monolingual English

students is problematic. Future research could compare studies of Spanish assessment data between NSS and NES students.

Longitudinal Comprehensive Studies. Among student outcome data studies, there are longitudinal, large-scale, comparative studies (Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Thomas & Collier, 2002) that assess effective educational models for students learning English. The Thomas and Collier (1997) study looked at the data for 700,000 students in five different geographical areas in the United States to analyze the how effective different methods of instruction are for ELL students from 1982-1996. The program models Thomas and Collier (1997) documented included traditional English-as-a-second-language (ESL) pullout, ESL content (for 23 years, followed by English mainstream), transitional and developmental bilingual education (bilingual for 34 years, followed by English mainstream), and two-way immersion. They found that formal schooling in the students' first language was the greatest indicator of success and that by high school, there was a significant effect depending upon the program the student had participated in. This conclusion follows the idea that longer exposure to a well-implemented model will result in higher academic achievement. According to the authors, "We found that students who arrived between ages 8 and 11, who had received at least 25 years of schooling taught through their primary language (L1) in their home country, were the lucky ones who took only 57 years. Those who arrived before age 8 required 710 years or more!" (p. 33). This finding presents important information for educators and administrators,

particularly when thinking about best educational programs and outcomes for students arriving at an early age.

Thomas and Collier (2002) also conducted a longitudinal study, looking at a total of 210,054 student records across five different research sites, including two in northern Maine; one in Houston, Texas; and one in Salem, Oregon (the last of the sites chose not to self-identify) (p. 1). This study was a five year study (1996–2001) that also looked at the various education services provided to language minority (LM) students. The authors found over 80 different languages represented, but three of five data sites focused on Spanish speakers (representing 75% of the LM school-age population) (p. 2). For this study, the authors focused on student outcomes from eight different models: 90:10 TWI, 50:50 TWI, 90:10 one-way bilingual immersion (one-way refers to the population having the same language background, such as all NSS, for example), 50:50 one-way bilingual immersion, 90:10 transitional bilingual education, 50:50 transitional bilingual education, ESL in academic content, and English mainstream. Their data represented students who entered in kindergarten or first grade as well as the highest grade level achieved at the conclusion of the study. I have summarized the results of the outcomes in Table 4.

The data in Table 4 demonstrate that programs with some native language instruction are more beneficial for students than programs that are English only or ESL. The data speak to English mainstream as being the most detrimental to LM students, which seems logical, as this model provides no support in their native language. The transitional programs show slightly better results, but the short window of time in the bilingual program (less than the research-documented time needed), likely explains the low reading outcomes. As in their 1997 study, in their 2002 study, Thomas and Collier

found the strongest predictor of student achievement in L2 English was the amount of formal schooling the student had in her home language (p. 334). It seems it takes, on average, four years for a student to reach grade-level performance in English, but students with no "primary language schooling" do not reach grade level (p. 334). What does this outcome indicate for these students and their educators in terms of academic achievement? More research regarding this specific population would help educators understand the best strategies for these students.

Table 4

English Reading Outcomes for Language Minority Students

Program	Percentile Outcome
English mainstream	12th percentile
ESL content classes	23rd percentile
50:50 transitional bilingual education	45th percentile
90:10 transitional bilingual education	32nd percentile
50:50 one-way developmental bilingual education	72nd percentile
90:10 one-way developmental bilingual education	34th percentile
50:50 two-way immersion	58 percent [a]
90:10 two-way immersion	51st percentile

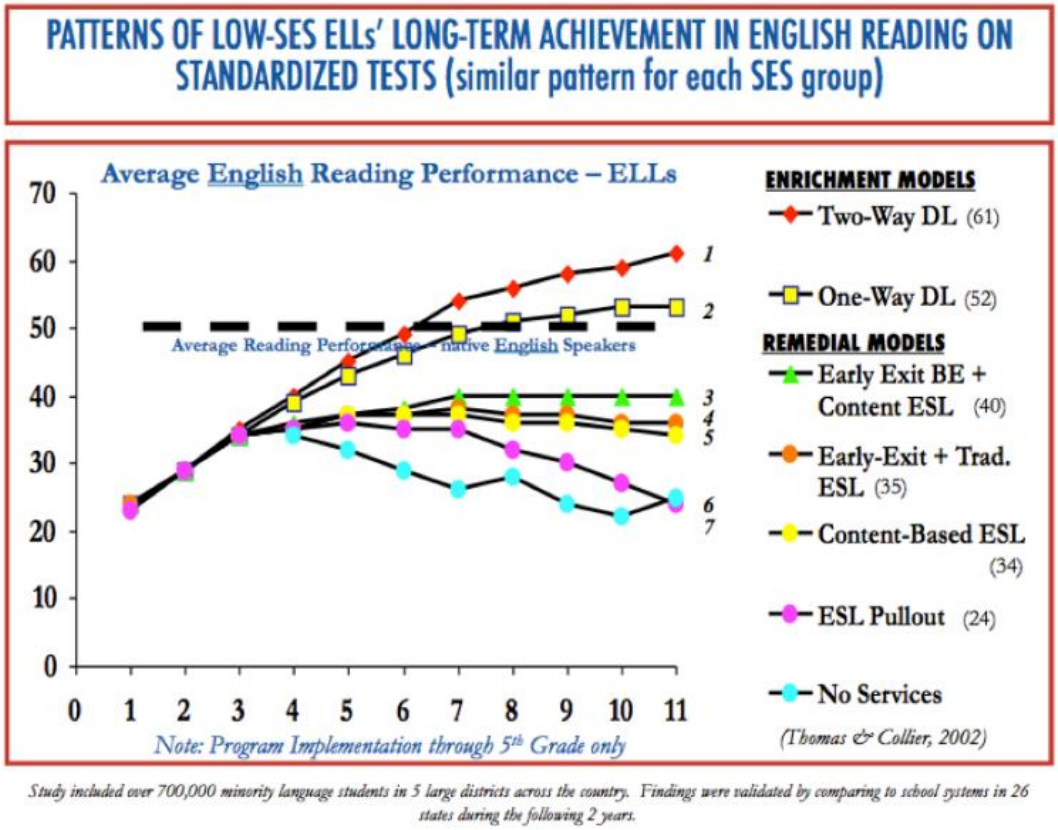
Note. Data from *National Study of School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students*, by W. P. Thomas and V. Collier, 2002, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence.

[a] While most of these percentiles are comprehensive, it is hard to make comparisons, particularly with the 50:50 TWI model because here the authors mention 58 percent of students, specifically in Oregon, not an overall percentile.

Lindholm-Leary (2001) documented student outcome data of 4,900 students in dual-language programs and included longitudinal data collected over a four-to-eight-year period. Her research found that English and Spanish speakers were highly proficient in their native language and that the program model (90:10 versus 50:50) did not impact the English students' proficiency in English. She did find, however, that the model chosen influenced Spanish-speakers' proficiency, with the students in the 90:10 model scoring higher scores in Spanish than those in the 50:50 model. Interestingly, Lindholm-Leary found that overall, students in the 90:10 model demonstrated greater bilingualism and that Spanish and English speakers were equally proficient in English (p. 297). Both NES and NSS acquired greater levels of Spanish in the 90:10 model (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). These results provide interesting data because they show that the 90:10 model can be more effective for Spanish language acquisition but perhaps not for English. I think this correlation is based on the role of Spanish and English in society. For example, students learning Spanish in school may not have as much opportunity to use it outside of that context (depending on where they live, family usage, or other factors), whereas English is the dominant language in the United States and can be used frequently. To me, this is an argument in favor of the 90:10 model because it promotes better proficiency in the target language and has no negative impact on English language acquisition. Figure 1 provides an example of English reading performance as related to the design of language learning programs.

Figure 1

English Reading Performance as Related to Language Learning Program Design



Note. From *National Study of School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students*, by W. P. Thomas and V. Collier, 2002, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence.

Other Studies. Most of the literature I reviewed bases student achievement on standardized test performance and shows DL students outperforming their mainstream peers. For example, according to De Jesus (2008),

> Only 47 percent of the general education students and only 25 percent of transitional bilingual students achieved Proficiency on the state exam. But 80 percent of the dual language students, both ELL and ED [English dominant],

> achieved Proficiency level, vastly surpassing English-dominant mainstream students and bilingual students in the school. The "achievement gap" was totally eliminated on the school level, by about 33 percent, a statistically significant difference. (p. 203)

The data speaks to the benefits of DLE for both English learners and English speakers, but the study would benefit from more explanation regarding the conclusion that the achievement gap decreased so drastically. De Jesus's data consists of fourth-grade assessment scores, which could reflect students' prior educational experience in this model, demonstrating that an effective program shows results in academic achievement over time.

Alanis and Rodriguez (2008) examined scores of fifth-grade students in a dual language program in Texas to determine how this model impacted student achievement. These students' scores on the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) test indicated that the students in the DLE program outscored other students across the district in English, math, science, and reading. However, the standard by which a student was considered proficient was problematic. The authors stated, "According to state accountability guidelines, minimum expectations were equivalent to approximately 70% of the items being correct on each subject area test" (p. 308). While this 70% may be a state guideline, I cannot establish a point of reference and therefore think this data needs to be interpreted with caution. Texas's guidelines may or may not be the same as other state guidelines, which makes comparison difficult. It is also important to note that there is no explanation of Spanish results in this study because it is not a TAKS subject. How can these results accurately compare the outcomes of bilingual students to monolingual

norms? I understand that the authors documented these results because they show the hard data on a state assessment, but the results do not show the whole picture of student bilingualism. While this study aims to demonstrate the effectiveness of DLE, it falls short. The student outcomes in English are impressive, but they do not tell the other piece of Spanish proficiency.

Gomez et al. (2005) also used TAKS data to assess student outcomes in a DLE program. Their results were based on third-grade assessments, and the authors noted, "Successful performance on the TAKS is determined by the number of items students answer correctly. The passing score for third-grade reading was set at 56% correct (20 of 36 items)" (p. 159). Again, I am not familiar with Texas assessments, but this pass rate of just above 50% seems problematic to me. Given this low standard, one has to cautiously interpret this data. The authors also wrote, "For math, the pass rate was 53%…. Most English and Spanish students were successful on the third-grade standardized mathematics test" (p. 160). They concluded, "The model has been implemented in areas with large numbers of Latino children. In some schools, the percentage of native English speakers is much lower than 50%, but the programs have worked well based on third- and fifth-grade standardized assessments in reading and mathematics" (p. 162). The authors might have studied a solid 50:50 model, but I would argue that their results do not demonstrate its successfulness. Even though they stated that the TAKS was offered in both Spanish and English in third grade, they did not offer any Spanish data. Lindholm-Leary and Block (2010) noted about the Gomez study that "…such low passing measures preclude conclusions from being drawn about program effectiveness" (p. 46).

To determine if students met academic goals, de Jong (2002) examined a specific two-way program in Framingham, Massachusetts . It is important to note that this study was conducted when Massachusetts was shifting to an English-only language policy. Aiming to document this program's success, de Jong noted that program evaluation is an effective way to change the tone of debate. The author looked at fifth-grade results, which is appropriate given the time it can take students in this model to perform at grade-level. The English speakers scored above the 50th Normal Curve Equivalent in English reading and mathematics (de Jong, 2002, p. 76). The native Spanish speakers scored above average in math but were still below the norm for English reading. Both groups of students also took a Spanish language assessment, called the Aprenda, which demonstrated that both groups scored above average in Spanish reading and math. However, the fourth-grade math results showed something slightly different. On the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment Systems (MCAS) test, de Jong noted that a 220 was considered passing and a 240 was considered proficient. The Spanish-speakers' scores—while the average score was passing—were not proficienct, while the average English speaking students' scores were proficient. It is important to note that these results were from fourth-grade assessments, and it would be helpful to see how these students did in fifth grade on this same assessment, because fifth grade is when students often "catch-up" (and, given the 20 point difference between passing and proficient, perhaps this additional year would push students over the 240 mark). While this program demonstrated some strengths in student achievement, de Jong noted that the Spanish-speakers performed below grade level on English reading in fifth grade. More information is needed to understand this discrepency and what factors may contribute to

this fact. This study is the only one of the studies reviewed that demonstrated students performing below grade-level. This outcome raises questions such as, what was different about this case versus others? Did the political climate of Massachusetts impact student results (directly or indirectly)? I can't help but reflect on my own experience as a young volunteer in a bilingual classroom in Framingham, MA, in 2000—on the eve of these programs being eliminated. I remember the teacher I worked with explaining to me that students would go to "sheltered English" and the bilingual program would dissolve. I also remember the English mainstream teacher's discriminatory attitude towards the Latinx students, referring to them as "cold-blooded." My own experience, coupled with de Jong's study, reflects the English-only climate and inherent racism against Spanish-speakers.

Quintanar-Sarellana (2004) looked at a school that has been, according to the author, successful at preparing bilingual students. Quintanar-Sarellana documented data in both English and Spanish, using the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) and the Spanish Assessment of Basic Education (SABE) to document Spanish proficiency. The author used the quantity of students at or above the 50th percentile as the mark for academic achievement, although she did not provide an explanation as to why she used this specific number. The data demonstrated that the students scored much above the 50th percentile in Spanish, but not in English. For example, in 2001, 35% of second-graders scored at or above the 50th percentile in reading (English), while 92% scored at or above the 50th percentile in Spanish. The difference for the fifith-graders was less pronounced: 58% of fifth-graders scored at or above the 50th percentile in English, versus 67% in Spanish. This difference might contribute to the idea that students in DLE programs take years to

start performing at grade level in English. If we look at the third-graders in 1998 and then the sixth graders in 2001 (same cohort), we see an increase from 48% to 66% of students at or above the 50th percentile in English reading. These statistics makes sense for comparison in this study because one can determine student achievement based on more time in the program.

Through their examination of reclassification patterns of EL students over 12 years with data from a large, urban school district in California, Umansky and Reardon (2014) questioned whether the reclassification timing, patterns, or barriers differed depending on the linguistic program the students were enrolled in (p. 879). Umansky and Reardon used a discrete-time event history analysis method to determine the probability of a student being reclassified from EL as a function of variables, including the program type (dual language, English immersion, transitional bilingual, and maintenance bilingual). Among their findings was that 13 percentage points more students in the dual language model reached reclassification eligibility by the end of high school compared to the English immersion model (p. 899). Umansky and Reardon also found that while larger portions of students in English immersion reached proficiency in elementary school compared to students in programs using two languages, this early advantage disappeared over time. Students in dual language immersion outperformed English immersion students by fifth grade, and the maintanence bilingual students outperformed the English students in sixth grade. Their findings clearly point to the advantage of a dual language immersion model when examing the effects of these models on reclassification trends for EL students. In sum, Umansky and Reardon's study points to several important implications. First, they noted that the longer students maintain EL status—on average, a

semester longer for a student in a DLI model compared to English immersion—the more likely they are to meet grade-level criteria and have a higher rate of English proficiency. The focus should not be on how quickly EL learners can be reclassified, but rather the quality of instruction and access to grade-level content. Umanksy and Reardon concluded that longer periods in EL classification could result in higher levels of academic proficiency (p. 908).

The 2017 RAND study in Portland, Oregon, found that students randomly assigned to dual language immersion programs outperformed those not in dual language in two significant ways (Steele). This study was the largest random-assigment study to date and included both two-way and one-way programs and four different partner languages (Spanish, Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, and Russian). This study showed the benefits of dual language programs both for native-English and non-native-English speakers. First, the students assigned to dual-language immersion programs outperformed their peers on reading tests by 13% of a standard deviation by fifth grade and by 22% of a standard deviation by eighth grade. Second, EL students reached English proficiency at higher rates, meaning they were more likely (three percentage points) to reach English proficiency by sixth grade. Importantly, their reading performance did not negatively impact their performance in math or science. This study is a recent, large-scale example of the benefits of dual language programs for both English speakers and students with other first languages.

Some studies look specifically at dual-language programs with majority Hispanic students (Lindholm-Leary & Block, 2010; Lindholm-Leary & Hernandez, 2011). This niche in DLE outcomes provides an interesting area for exploration because it

distinguishes between Hispanic students who are Spanish dominant versus English dominant. It seems, as Lindholm-Leary and Block (2010) described, the difficulty is in comparing these specific groups to others:

> This literature review shows, then, that dual language students in predominantly Hispanic settings appear to be performing adequately on standardized tests, but these studies have not used comparison groups to determine whether students achieve at higher levels in dual language or mainstream programs in largely segregated and low-income settings. (p. 47)

These studies explore a component of DLE that is generally unexplored, but, as this quotation demonstrates, it is still difficult to have comparison groups for these students. Future research could document these programs specifically to compare student achievement and successfulness in this type of program. De Jesus (2008) wrote, "From the public policy perspective, closing the achievement gap is probably the most important goal in the education of language diverse students…. To close the gap, the ELL student's achievement must be greater than one year's growth in the same years' time. A tall order" (p. 201). I would argue that this concept is why the literature centers on the comparison with native English speakers or only examines the English assessment data—to show that L2 English speaking students can "catch up." Even with the goal of leveling the playing field between NES and NSS, several studies emphasize the importance of providing students with a consistent model for a period of at least five years to see academic achievement results (Howard, et al., 2003; Mora, et al., 2001; Thomas & Collier, 1997, 2001; Umansky et al., 2015). While the literature points to the benefits of dual-language for both NSS and NES, this benefit is not evident on the first day or even in the first year

of a dual-language program. Cummins (1981) wrote, "…immigrant students arriving after age six take between six and seven years to approach grade norms in English academic skills" (p. 9). Therefore, the reader must consider the length of exposure to the DLE as a factor in determining the effectiveness of a program. This statement does not suggest that time is the panacea; the model must be effective to support student learning. A student could spend five years in a poorly implemented DLE model and not reach academic proficiency.

Meta-analyses. The meta-analysis by Rolstad et al. (2005) analyzed 17 different studies of educational approaches for ELL students. The authors presented a meta-analysis of previously unexamined studies to clarify "the big picture" of the debate surrounding bilingual education (p. 574). Their article provided empirical evidence that "bilingual education is more beneficial for ELL students than all-English approaches…" (p. 590). This conclusion is important in the field of bilingual education because it provides justification for bilingual education, which is controversial in certain political climates, such as in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts (Baker, 2011). Rolstad et al. examined studies conducted after 1985 to review more recent literature, but a limitation of their work is that they only included 17 studies due to selection criteria. They stated that "hundreds of methods comparison studies and program evaluations have been attempted to ascertain whether bilingual or English-only instruction best serves ELLs" (Rolstad, et al., 2005). The authors initially identified more than 300 studies and implemented a set of selection criteria that included (a) studies of K-12 minority students (not in special education), (b) "statistical details needed to perform meta-analysis," and (c) a description of treatment and comparison groups (p. 581). The 17 studies that met

this criteria were rather out of date, ranging from 19861996. While the meta-analysis demonstrated important results, the reader must also take into consideration the authors' decisions regarding inclusion criteria to assess for herself any underlying assumptions or biases. For example, the statistical details included characteristics of different aspects of the studies examined (including teachers, students, and research design), but the authors relied on each study's description of the programs they examined because the "program labels for ELL students are often oversimplified or misleading" (p. 581). This characteriziation could be problematic because it implies that Rolstad et al. might have had a different understanding of the programs they analyzed than the original studies' authors intended. This misalignment of terms could result in misclassification of the types of programs that are effective. It is also important to note that Rolstad et al. provided an update of their study in 2008 due to a coding error of one of their studies (Rolstad et al., 2008). This update strengthens the authors' conclusions regarding transitional bilingual education versus English-only and developmental bilingual education over transitional bilingual education.

Greene's (1997) meta-analysis examined the Rossell and Baker (1996) literature review on the effectiveness of the bilingual education model. The Rossell and Baker study found 75 "methodologically sound" studies and concluded that bilingual education was not beneficial (as cited in Greene, 1997). Greene found only 11 of these studies to be methodologically acceptable and then aggregated the results. He concluded that "at least some native language in the instruction of limited English proficient children has moderate beneficial effects on those children relative to their being taught only in English" (p. 103). His study is not perfect: he noted that eight of 11 of the acceptable

studies were conducted before 1983 and therefore the programs examined in the studies might use different models than what is currently considered bilingual education (p. 113). This meta-analysis was conducted because the Rossell and Baker (1996) study was being used by those making policy decisions regarding bilingual education. Greene's (1997) analysis was not meant to show specifically what types of native language instruction would be ideal, but rather that some native language instruction proves beneficial for English acquisition.

Conclusion

This section provided data on specific and important studies that document results of DLE programs. The large-scale studies demonstrate that DLE is effective for NSS, particularly compared to English-only models. The case studies make important contributions to the literature because they are specific examples of success and represent the challenges of data interpretation. Meta-analyses provide a general overview of selected literature, which is also important when considering program outcomes for students. Some of the literature (de Jong, 2002; Greene, 1997) arose because of a political climate intolerant of DLE in order to demonstrate its potential. Unfortunately, while the literature largely demonstrates favorable results for NSS in English achievement, the political climate plays a crucial role in these students' access to DLE programs. It is also difficult to make comparisons across studies because of the different measurements used for assessment. When reading the literature on research-based academic outcomes, it is imperative to carefully read and interpret the results to draw accurate conclusions.

To assess student outcomes, most of the literature relies on standardized tests, mostly given in English, but in some cases Spanish, too. Most authors offer comparisons

to monolingual English-speaking students or offer the results of bilingual students on state assessments. Comparing bilingual students to monolingual norms implies the view that bilingual students are "two monolinguals in one," which is not true.

While some of the studies seem to employ rigorous methodology and data collection strategies, others seem to use weak data. In these cases, it is difficult to assess the actual impact of the model or type of instruction on student achievement. I would also argue that the standard of 50th percentile for "typical" achievement of English speakers is low (Thomas & Collier, 1997, p. 10).

My review of this literature demonstrates that DLE is beneficial, particularly for NSS students. There is a possibility that some of the weak studies do not help build a case for DLE but rather could negatively impact the implementation of such programs in areas where policymakers are already hesitant to allow DLE. The political context plays a role in DLE, as noted by several authors who seem to want to prove the value of this model in a contentious political environment (de Jong, 2002; Greene, 1997; Rolstad, et al. 2005).

Social-Emotional Development and English Learners

Social emotional development, or SED, is an important aspect of development and merits brief discussion in relation to dual-language-learners (DLLs). Social emotional learning, or SEL, is also a term used for practices related to SED, but SEL refers more to skills, such as mindfulness, rather than to development. In this section of the literature review, I briefly discuss the emerging literature on SED related to DLLs. I first give a brief overview of the history and popularization of this field, followed by general definitions. Given this is a developing field, I examine a comprehensive literature review (Halle et al., 2014), a summary report of this literature review (Center for Early

Care, 2014), and SED's connection to linguistically diverse classrooms (Castro and Prishker, 2019). I conclude with my own perspective for further research in this emerging and important field.

The term social emotional learning (SEL) was popularized in 1995 with the book, *Emotional Intelligence* by Daniel Goleman. In this book, Goleman posits the importance of emotional intelligence for success. Recently, SEL has become a buzz term, particularly in progressive education circles (Williams, 2019). This interest and shift can be connected to the 2015 passage of ESSA because it allowed states to include "non-academic" indicators in systems for rating schools in their accountability measures. In the summer of 2019, the House of Representatives approved a $260 million package to fund "whole child" initiatives, which included grants for evidence-based innovations that support social-emotional and cognitive development, grants for teacher professional development (the Supporting Effective Educator Development, or SEED, grant program), funding for a full-service community schools program to support the holistic needs of families and students, and funding to add more school counselors and mental health professionals (Stringer, 2019). Even though this bill would support these aspects of SEL, it is unlikely to pass in a Republican majority Senate (personal conversation with professional staffer, 2019).

In the school context, social-emotional development refers to students learning skills that promote holistic child development. These skills include self-regulation, patience, empathy, mindfulness, and self-awareness (Stringer, 2019). The developing research in this area looks at how the social-emotional development of students and the nurturing the whole child can help support mental health and wellbeing as well as lead to

academic benefits, such as improved test scores, on-time high school graduation, and college enrollment (Stringer, 2019).

SED covers three general areas of development: cognitive, social, and emotional. The cognitive component refers to executive-function skills that help students regulate their own behavior, pay attention, use their memory, and apply organization skills. Social component skills are those that help students engage with others, including compassion, communication, social cue recognition, and conflict resolution. The emotional component includes skills that help students manage their feelings, such as anger and frustration. The emotional component also includes teaching children to recognize emotions in others (Stringer, 2019).

For dual language learners, SED is influenced not only by these previously mentioned aspects but also by the unique cultural, linguistic, and contextual factors that differ for DLL students compared to monolingual children. For example, some of these children may be recent arrivals to the United States or live in homes that have cultural practices differing from the mainstream school environment. Furthermore, DLLs are a population that is "historically underserved," which implies the historical inequities these populations experience may also influence their SED. (Williams, 2019).

Williams (2019) cautioned that it is difficult to gather social-emotional data for DLL students because this data is difficult to gather for monolingual students. Furthermore, schools will have to be careful with how they measure social-emotional outcomes or indicators because they must consider the multilingual and multicultural contexts. For example, the SEL data from a dual language education program that supports the students' heritage language may have different social-emotional outcomes

than an educational model strictly in English. Schools also must be conscious of how they define DLLs and of the cultural differences that may influence students' SEL when they have different backgrounds from the mainstream culture.

The report from the Center for Early Care and Education Research (2014) is a summary of the Halle et al. (2014) study that is also included in this section. In this summary report, the authors divide the findings into six areas that provide context on the current field of SED research related to DLL students. These areas include a comparison of SED between DLLs and non-DLLs, home language use at preschool, levels of bilingualism and English proficiency, immigrant status, and methodological issues. I will briefly address each of these in turn.

Across the studies that the authors of the report examined, there was no consistent pattern regarding the SED of DLL students compared to non-DLL students (Center for Early Care, 2014). The authors wrote that,

> The social-emotional competence of DLL children in preschool and elementary settings, indicated by measures such as frustration tolerance, task orientation, and self-control, may be higher than that of their monolingual peers, although there is insufficient research to disentangle of the association of dual-language status with other characteristics such as immigrant status, heritage culture, and socioeconomic status. (p. 3)

Regarding native language (L1) use in the classroom, the summary mentions one study that showed the use of Spanish in the preschool resulted in better tolerance among the students. On the contrary, another study mentioned in the summary found no difference in the quality of peer interactions. The summary report did find several studies that

demonstrated social-emotional benefits to bilingualism, but the findings were difficult to interpret due to the differences in definitions of bilingualism and language dominance. It is difficult to understand the unique influence of DLL status on social-emotional development because there are other characteristics associated with DLL status, such as socioeconomic differences that may influence SED regardless of language profile. The authors of the summary report wrote, "DLL status and language proficiency explained much less of the variance in children's outcomes than socioeconomic status" (p. 2). Also, the authors found conflicting data on the influence of immigration status related to social emotional development. Some of the studies reviewed found that first-generation immigrants had higher self-control and fewer behavior problems, but another study found less social competence among first generation Latinx immigrants. Lastly, the authors noted that the majority of the studies focused on Spanish-speaking DLLs, so the results may not apply to other language groups.

The methodology of the studies reviewed in the summary report also raised some questions for the authors (Center for Early Care, 2014). In their review, nine of the 15 studies used large-scale, national, or multi-state data sets versus local samples. In some cases, the researchers collected data from parents or teachers, instead of through direct observation of the student. In the cases where researchers collected data from the parents or teachers, the researchers relied on the understanding and observations of these stakeholders, not on their own observations. Furthermore, large-scale studies may not take into account the specific contexts, such as the language profile, that may influence SEL.

Even with the variation in studies, the authors of the summary report concluded that there are important implications that must be further examined (Center for Early Care, 2014). For example, it does seem that bilingualism has social-emotional benefits compared to being monolingual. If we consider the benefits of bilingualism, such as increased cognitive skills and mental flexibility, this conclusion is logical. Also, the authors concluded that academic use of a home language may help DLL students regulate their behavior and might also help the attitudes and behaviors of English-speaking peers. The exposure of English-speakers to another language may not only help their literal understanding of that language, but also develop their tolerance towards linguistic variation. They suggest the need for consensus on a definition and measurement of DLL status, as well as the establishment of longitudinal databases from birth to examine the long-term effects of experiences of DLLs on their social emotional development.

Halle, et al. (2014) provided a thorough examination of the literature on SEL with DLL students from 2000–2011. They identified 14 peer-reviewed studies that looked at SEL outcomes for DLL students in home, school, and peer contexts. They developed their search terms in guidance with the Center for Early Care and Education Research—Dual Language Learners and included phrases such as “social-emotional development’ and “language minorities” (p. 740). Halle et al. identified four key areas of SED for DLL learners. The first area was self-regulation, which was defined as the ability to focus attention, manage emotions, and control behavior. The authors found that there had been an increase in the research that deals with exploring how this concept develops in young children. The second aspect of SED for DLLs the authors discussed was social competence, which is the ability to interact effectively with others and have positive

relationships. Their research showed that these skills are important and that children who demonstrate "high levels of interactive peer play receive higher teacher ratings in social skills" (p. 739). These students were better able to develop empathy and resolve conflicts. Some of this research also linked positive teacher-child relationships to social competence. The third aspect of SED for DLLs the authors discussed was social cognition; the ability for a student to understand how he/she relates to peers and interact in a social situation. The studies in this category demonstrated that children with social cognition skills, such as the ability to recognize social cues and label their emotions, were less likely to show aggression and more likely to show pro-social behaviors. The last aspect Halle et al. identified as a key dimension of SED for DLLs was problem behaviors as seen through both internal and external issues, such as worry and anxiety (internal) and aggressive behavior (external). Halle et al. posited that the limited research available at the time of their writing showed that DLL students had comparable, if not better, social emotional outcomes compared to native English monolingual speakers (p. 745). They suggested that simultaneous theory building and empirical hypothesis testing would help inform the field as to how cultural and linguistic contexts affect children in the early years.

Castro and Prishker (2019) recognized that the field of research on SEL and bilingual children was limited. They discussed several factors to promote high-quality instruction for diverse learners in our country's early childhood education classrooms, but for the purposes of this literature review, I will focus on the SEL component. Castro and Prishker noted that even though the positive effects of early childhood education have been well documented, there is still a school readiness gap that disproportionately affects

children from low-income backgrounds, and the majority of these students are from diverse (non-Anglo-White) backgrounds. The authors suggested it is important to talk about culture in the context of bilingualism because of the connection between language and culture. In this sense, they argued, language and culture are tied to identity, which adds a layer of complexity because bilingual children may be navigating two different worlds, or contexts, if these contexts are not aligned. For example, in a community that values and celebrates bilingualism, a bilingual student may be more at ease with his/her own identity in terms of cultural influences. If the community does not value bilingualism, or if the student is in a community with conflicting norms between school and home, the student may have a more difficult time navigating this system. Castro and Prishker argued that the education of bilingual learners merits a more holistic approach. The authors argued that social-emotional development is an important part of the learning process for students. Promoting this aspect of learning includes, for example, positive teacher-child relationships and inclusion in classroom activities. If children are in an English-only environment, this environment may cause them stress. While not much research has been done in this area, monolingual children who feel rejected by their peers face higher risk of academic failure, greater likelihood of school dropout, and greater risk of delinquency. Castro and Prishker argued that movement towards a multilingual early education system that includes SED is important to provide equitable opportunities for all children and that we should embrace bilingual education that moves towards a more inclusive system to maintain an L1 while learning an L2.

Further research on SEL for DLLs should include specific cultural contexts, linguistic variations, and both familial and educational settings (such as DL programs

versus English-only). The current political environment also raises concern for families, particularly those who might have parents in the United States without documentation. Future research can examine how these situations and anxieties affect the SED of DLL students. As ESSA specifies that some SEL criteria may be used for accountability, research from current practices could help states assess successful strategies and areas for growth. Collaboration across counties, states, and among stakeholders could open dialogue and further understanding regarding SEL and DLLs. More research could also address the relationship aspect between teachers and students and caretakers and students, particularly as these relationships pertain to linguistic and cultural differences. For example, what practices are effective for promoting positive SED, even if the teacher and student do not have similar linguistic or cultural backgrounds? Identifying practices and/or characteristics that may mitigate these differences can help researchers understand how to promote positive SEL in contexts where there might not be access to a bilingual program or to native language speakers. Lastly, as my study pertains to DLE, more research is needed on how this specific educational model encompasses SED and how the model intrinsically supports stronger SED (if it does) for DLL students. This information would benefit the field, particularly as we look towards positive and successful strategies to promote the social emotional development of our dual language learners.

Context

This section provides a survey of dual language policies and practices across the United States. According to the U.S. Department of Education's 2015 *Dual Language Education Programs: Current State Policies and Practices* report, only five states have specific guidelines for DLE program implementation (Boyle et al., 2015). Some states,

such as Texas and New York, have established state policies to ensure EL students have equitable access to programs (Williams, 2017), but many states do not distinguish between one-way or two-way immersion programs. Utah, for example, has mostly one-way immersion programs (for English-speakers) even though Latinx people make up 13% of the state's population (Freire et al., 2017). Because there are no specific federal guidelines and many interpretations/variations of DLE, it is difficult to make cross-state comparisons. Furthermore, states generally do not prescribe a specific model (90:10 versus 50:50) and therefore local players—either districts or schools—decide which works better for their communities. It is important to understand how these policies and programs vary because that way we can gauge best practices and challenges to better understand and serve our local populations.

In this section, I provide a survey of the national landscape of language practices and the context surrounding DLE across the United States. First, I briefly discuss the history of bilingual education to historicize (Palmer et al., 2019) the movement and demonstrate how the context has changed over time. I then address the funding for DLE programs and how funding practices vary among the states. Next, I briefly explore various elements of DLE including teacher requirements, assessments, and EL classification. I then look at specific examples of restrictive and expansive policies, followed by the local context of the focal city. In conclusion, I offer areas for further research and my synthesis.

Nationwide

Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States. The history of bilingual education in the United States dates back to the German-English schools of the

mid-19th century, as well as schools for many other languages of instruction (including Dutch, Italian, Polish, Spanish, and Russian), dating back to the 1800s and early 1900s (Baker, 2011). These bilingual education programs were permitted at this time, and it was not until World War I when the attitude towards bilingual education started to change (Baker, 2011). With a large influx of immigrants around the turn of the 20th century came a fear, and with that a call for the assimilation of immigrants. In 1906, the Nationality Act "required immigrants to speak English to become naturalized Americans" (Baker, 2011, p. 185). With the end of WWI, an anti-German feeling in the United States led to pressure for English monolingual schooling. After WWI, the Americanization Department of the United States Bureau of Education adopted a resolution that English would be the language of instruction, and 34 states adopted this resolution by 1923 (including both public and private schools) (Baker, 2011).

There were two U.S. Supreme court cases, namely *Meyer v. Nebraska* and *Farrington v. Tokushige,* that found the states could not restrict access to language outside of the regular school system (Baker, 2011). The United States started to change its stance on bilingual education after Russia launched Sputnik in 1957. This historical event demonstrated the need for foreign language instruction in the United States and led to the passing of the National Defense and Education Act of 1958, which promoted foreign languages in elementary schools and beyond. With the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, particularly the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that prohibited discrimination based on race or national origin, came an increased tolerance for differences on the federal level (Baker, 2011, p. 186).

In 1963, Coral Way Elementary School was established in Dade County, Florida, as a way for Cubans to maintain their connection to their language during their exile to the United States after the Cuban Revolution. The Cuban community in Dade County thought this exile would be short-lived, but the school gained traction and support from the U.S. government because the exiles were victims of Communism and had highly trained teachers (Baker, 2011).

Several pieces of legislation are important to mention in the history of bilingual education. First, the Bilingual Education Act of 1967, which was an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, originally intended to help native Spanish-speakers but then expanded to include all populations with a native language other than English. Then, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968 indicated bilingual education programs as part of federal education policy and authorized federal funds to be used for EL students. This legislation allocated funds for EL students and undermined the English-only laws of many states. In 1970, a landmark case, *Lau v. Nichols*, on behalf of Chinese students against the San Francisco School District questioned if these students received equal education if they did not have access to instruction in a language they understood. The Supreme Court decision outlawed "submersion" models, or English mainstreaming, and determined, "There is no equality of treatment by merely providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" (Baker, 2011, p. 187).

The Bilingual Education Act was reauthorized in 1978 and amended in both 1984 and 1988. These amendments supported maintenance and development models and also

allowed programs where the student's first language was not used. At this time, the political environment was hostile to bilingual education and favored transitional programs (Baker, 2011, p. 188). President Reagan, for example, favored mainstreaming students and described bilingual education that preserved native language as "absolutely wrong" (Baker, 2011, p. 189). With the change of the administration in the early 1990s, the political environment shifted, and Congress authorized the Improving America's Schools Act. Within this legislation, Title VII was reauthorized and provided funds to states for particular student groups, including immigrants. Between 1994 and 1996, Title VII funding was cut by 38%, which impacted budgets for bilingual education (Baker, 2011, p. 190). Soon after that, in 1998, California passed Proposition 227, which restricted access to bilingual programs for native speakers of other languages. I will discuss this legislation in more depth under the California subheading.

More recently, the tone has shifted yet again towards bilingual education. Former President Obama had a favorable opinion of bilingual education, stating, "You should be thinking about how your child can become bilingual. We should have every child speaking more than one language" (Baker, 2011, p.119). On the other hand, President Trump has a negative attitude towards bilingual education. During his campaign, he shared his opinion, stating, "To have a country, we have to have assimilation. I'm not the first one to say this…. This is a country where we speak English, not Spanish" (Weigle, 2015). This section will address the current, specific contexts of restrictive, expansive, and local environment.

Current Funding for Dual Language Education. Notwithstanding growth in DL programs, data regarding the costs—both pecuniary and non-pecuniary—is limited.

Most states (46) provide additional funding for EB students, but except for three (Connecticut, Michigan, and New Mexico), they do not specify funding for DL programs. (Boyle et al., 2015, p. 91). In 2010, the federal government provided $750 million to states through the Language Instruction for English Learner and Immigrant Students Act, or Title III of ESSA, but again, these funds are not specific to DL (Tanenbaum et al., 2012). The purpose of Title III is to ensure that ELL students "attain English language proficiency and meet the same challenging state academic standards that other students are expected to meet" (California Department of Education, 2017). Title III allows for native language support, but according to a U.S. Department of Education report, "Instruction in native language were the least frequently reported EL services among Title III districts, but were still provided in more than half the Title III districts (57%) in 2009-10" (Tanenbaum et al., 2012). This contrast is an interesting data point because it demonstrates that while most of these districts offer native language instruction, within these districts, DL is not a widely-used practice. For example, in 2012–2013, 39 states and Washington, D.C., reported that districts receiving federal Title III funding implemented at least one DL program (Boyle et al., 2015, p. x).

Other Factors. Spanish is the most common partner language in 35 states and Washington D.C. Currently, estimates are as high as 2,000 bilingual education programs across the United States, although it is difficult to gauge due to the differences in how states define their programs and models. Even with the large number of states offering Spanish programs, only three states, Delaware, Indiana, and Utah, have requirements for the ratio of English-speaking to partner-language speaking students in two-way programs (Boyle et al., 2015, p. 37). In Delaware, the percentage of students in the partner

language must fall between 30-60%, whereas in Indiana and Utah, the programs must have at least one third of students from each language group (Boyle et al, 2015, p. 37). Table 5 summarizes the language distribution of these programs.

Table 5

Number of Programs by Partner Language in States in 2015

Partner language	Number of states with programs in this language
Spanish	35
Chinese	14
Native American	12
French	7

Note. Adapted from *Dual Language Education Programs: Current State Policies and Practices*, by A. Boyle, D. August, L. Tabaku, S. Cole, and A. Simpson-Baird, 2015, U.S. Department of Education Office of English Language Acquisition and American Institutes for Research (https://www.air.org/sites/default/files/downloads/report/Dual-Language-Education-Programs-Current-State-Policies-Feb-2017-rev.pdf).

Another variable across the states is the EL identification and classification process. The U.S. Department of Education found that 46 states and Washington, D.C., require or recommend that districts implement a home language survey and an English proficiency assessment (Boyle et al., 2015). Five states—Delaware, Kentucky, New Mexico, Oregon, and Utah—are the only states that require their state-funded programs to assess students' progress in the partner language at least annually (Boyle et al., 2015, p. 62). This statement indicates two important ideas: One, greater value is placed on English language proficiency; Two, schools may not have solid baselines or understanding of the native language abilities of their students when they join the

classrooms. States also show a vast discrepancy in the reclassification of students as English proficient: 20 states and Washington, D.C., reclassify based strictly on assessments; 20 other states consider additional criteria. This "additional criteria" is not specified, which makes it difficult to understand how states might define English proficiency.

Parent engagement and outreach efforts vary greatly across the states. Only six states provide outreach materials to "support and inform parents and students about dual language programs" and two states require that parents submit a yearly written consent for their EL children to participate in a DLE program (Boyle et al., 2015, p. xii). Under the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), the requirements for parent engagement vary within the different sections of the legislation. Title I, for example, requires parents to be informed of the educational program their child is in, the child's English proficiency, and the programs available to the child. Title III requires that schools promote family engagement of EL students through programs (NASEM, 2017, p. 60). Whether districts and schools provide this specific information to parents or if there is a system/mechanism that documents compliance depends on the local actors in their specific contexts. Districts and schools may also define family engagement and its "promotion" in different ways. I mention these different components to demonstrate that these guidelines leave decisions primarily up to local contexts, which likely vary in their interpretations of these regulations. These considerations indicate that DLE, access to it, and its implementation are largely variable and complex.

Teacher certification and requirements for teaching in a DL program differ immensely across the United States. Only half of states and Washington, D.C., have

specific requirements for the teaching of bilingual education, but this could include multiple areas of core competency. For example, as a certified teacher in the focal district, I had dual-certification in elementary education and Spanish that allowed me to teach in a DLE program, but I did not have a specific "bilingual education" training or certification. Only 19 states require teachers to demonstrate fluency in the partner language they teach, while 36 states require teachers of English (to EL students) to demonstrate English fluency. This discrepancy once again demonstrates a greater value on English than on other languages. Fewer states have requirements specific to teaching EL students: only five states, Arizona, California, Florida, New York, and Pennsylvania, require that teachers demonstrate credentials to teach EL students (Ballantyne et al., 2008; Hutchinson, 2013). Utah has specific credentials for its dual language program teachers while other states, including Maryland, are working to establish such credentials (House Bill 1154). The different approaches to teacher certification and credentials for both DLE and teaching EL students are disconcerting. The preparation and quality of the teacher is a crucial piece of any successful program, but the literature indicates that state requirements vary greatly for these educators.

Restrictive Policy Context

Currently, DLE programs are expanding rapidly across the country. However, in the late 1990s, California, Arizona, and Massachusetts began to dismantle programs that provided instruction for EL students in English and other languages. Ron Unz, a California businessperson, was the impetus behind this legislation, as he argued that EL students needed to learn English to be successful and promoted Structured English Immersion. (Linton, 2007). In some cases, TWI programs remained because they

involved non-EL students (Valdez et al., 2016), but the language education landscape changed dramatically in these contexts. These language restrictive policies operated successfully in the three states, but Massachusetts and California recently overturned these restrictive policies in favor of bilingual education (in 2017 and 2016, respectively). These shifts in Massachusetts and California indicate a change in attitudes towards bilingual education, while Arizona remains the state with the most restrictive language policies (Mahoney et al., 2010). Educators and policymakers should continue to monitor the dynamics in this state; as demographics change, perhaps this policy will swing in another direction. I will now briefly highlight some of the literature from these contexts.

California. A simple search of "Proposition 227" returns 169 articles on Academic Search Complete and over 731,000 Google hits. Using a selection of these sources, I provide a general overview of the historical context and recent change in California's policy. In 1998, 61% of California voters voted in favor of Proposition 227, a conservative measure that severely limited educational options for ELL students (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017). This legislation mandated that EL students be taught only in English and sought to eliminate bilingual education; known as "English Language in Public Schools," this bill played on the anti-immigrant sentiment in California and the association with Spanish (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017).

Linton (2007) examined TWI educator and parent responses to Proposition 227 and looked into how certain districts maintained TWI programs in the wake of this anti-bilingual education legislation. Linton used a longitudinal qualitative study to look at Spanish-English programs in five districts in Southern California to understand the response to these programs and the motivation for continuing TWI within an anti-

bilingual climate. Committed parents and educators who believed in cross-cultural communications and multilingualism, coupled with positive academic results, allowed these programs to continue. While her research shows a positive outcome, I am not convinced that we can draw conclusions from the limited data she offered. For example, she generalized about school districts, such as the Los Angeles Unified Schools District (LAUSD), based on one elementary school that continued its TWI program with the passage of Proposition 227. She did mention the development of eight new programs between 2001 and 2004, but according to LAUSD's website, there are over 900 schools and 187 charter schools in the district (Los Angeles, 2018). Linton's article would benefit from quantitative measures, including survey and student data, and more qualitative interviews. Without more concrete evidence, her claims are too broad to take at face value. Furthermore, as Valdez et al. (2016) discussed, TWI programs that included non-EL students were not as threatened as the one-way or other DL programs that primarily focused on EL students. As we think about the reasoning behind Linton's (2007) finding, Palmer's (2010) use of interest convergence can provide a possible explanation. These programs were in the interest of the English-speaking majority, which might explain their survival in this restrictive language environment. A follow-up study on these programs to determine if they remain in operation today would provide an interesting comparison and case study on TWI, particularly as the tide again shifts to pro-bilingual education.

In 2016, California voters revisited the restrictive language policies, and the linguistic landscape largely shifted. A large majority of voters, 73.52%, voted in favor of Proposition 58, the "California Education for a Global Economy (EdGE) Initiative," which removed the language restrictions previously placed on schools via Proposition

227. Katznelson and Bernstein (2017) used critical discourse analysis to analyze this change. They found that Proposition 227 framed English as the solution to the "problem" of bilingual education, whereas Proposition 58 framed multilingualism as an economic gain. Interestingly, Proposition 58 does not use the term "bilingual" at all, but rather uses "multilingual" instead (Katznelson and Bernstein, 2017, p. 17). While Katznelson and Bernstein were supportive of the passage of Proposition 58 and the return to dual language programs, they were critical of the neoliberal discourse used to achieve this outcome. They demonstrated that the discourse in California surrounding multilingualism was framed solely around economic benefits. This shift in language orientation constitutes what Valdes (1997) described as a "cautionary note" because the global economic linkage connects to White privilege and ignores cultural and heritage connections. I agree with Katznelson and Bernstein that this legislation represents a gain for ELL students and bilingual education and that the framework established to sway voters is distinctly neoliberal. Future research must document this change in approach in California to ensure that the needs of the ELL population are being met.

Massachusetts. In 2002, Massachusetts voted to eliminate bilingual education programs from public schools via Question 2. Fitzgerald (2011) analyzed the debate over the issue of bilingual education in Colorado and Massachusetts to determine why the same initiative had such different results. She concluded that "ethnic paternalism" was the distinguishing factor (p. 371). The notion of ethnic paternalism is "a logic often used by members of ethnic majorities to justify restrictive policy decisions on the basis of what they think is best for the affected population" (Fitzgerald, 2011, p. 371). She used a mixed methods study to analyze the content of 211 letters to the editor in the months

prior to the 2002 elections to compare public opinion and understand how Colorado and Massachusetts had such different outcomes. She used the concept of ethnic paternalism to frame her work because she argued that when White, English-speaking Americans see it as their responsibility to determine what is best for minorities, the result is a paternalistic mentality and restrictive decisions for the minority populations, who may or may not be able to partake in the decision-making process. Fitzgerald's work demonstrates the importance of gauging public opinion around hot-button issues, particularly in cases where the outcomes affect populations who might not be able to participate in the decision-making process (in this case, minority youth). Fitzgerald concluded that the paternalistic considerations were much more prevalent than ethnic conflict motives in the Massachusetts passage of Question 2.

In November 2017, the Massachusetts House and Senate voted to overturn Question 2 and restore bilingual education through the LOOK bill (Language Opportunity for Our Kids) ("Bilingual," 2017). According to an article in the Boston Globe, this bill brings back "transitional bilingual education," but also allows school systems flexibility to use other programs, such as TWI (Vaznis, 2017). The LOOK bill also created EL parent advisory committees in schools with high concentrations of EL learners, gave parents choice about programs, and called for a state "seal of biliteracy" on the high school diploma for students literate in more than one language (Vaznis, 2017).

Arizona. In Arizona, Proposition 203, or "English for the Children," was crafted by Ron Unz (the same person responsible for crafting Proposition 227 in California) and passed in November 2000 (Heineke, 2017). Similar to the Google search I conducted for information about California's Proposition 227, a Google search about Arizona's

restrictive language policy, “Proposition 203,” resulted in over 812,000 hits. There is a plethora of literature documenting the effects of Arizona’s restrictive language environment on EL learners. For brevity, I highlight only a couple of these studies.

Garcia et al. (2010) examined the achievement gaps in reading and math for the ELL versus non-ELL population in Arizona after passage of Proposition 203 and found that Arizona made little to no progress in closing the gaps. Arizona—arguably the most restrictive of the three states with such laws—created an “English Language Learners Task Force,” which recommended implementation of a 4-hour block requiring EL students to be in English immersion for at least 4 hours per day during their first year classified as ELL (Garcia et al., 2010, p. 3). Garcia et. al explained that the 4-hour block was only for EL students, in which they would receive instruction in English grammar, vocabulary, and conversation with no other language allowed. This 4-hour instructional block was eliminated in early 2019 under SB1014, which provided teachers of EL students more flexibility in their instruction. Garcia et al. compared math and reading scores of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) students to those in states with less restrictive policies (Utah and Washington, D.C.) and found that Arizona LEP students performed much worse than LEP students in these other states. Table 6 shows the percentage of students demonstrating proficiency in these states. According to Garcia et al., in addition to scoring worse than students in other states, LEP students in Arizona also scored significantly worse than their non-LEP peers, indicating that the shift in educational programming did not work to close the gap. This study demonstrates the detrimental effects of restrictive language policies on the academic achievement of LEP students.

Table 6

Percentages of Limited English Proficiency Students Demonstrating Proficiency in 2009

State	Percentage of students demonstrating proficiency	
	Math	Reading
Arizona	33.1	25.5
Utah	41.8	53.2
California	53.0	44.7

Note. Data from *The Education of English Language Learners in Arizona: A Legacy of Persisting Achievement Gaps in a Restrictive Language Policy Climate*, by E. E. Garcia, K. Lawton, and E. H. Diniz de Figueiredo, 2010, The Civil Rights Project. https://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/language-minority-students/the-education-of-english-language-learners-in-arizona-a-legacy-of-persisting-achievement-gaps-in-a-restrictive-language-policy-climate/

Mahoney et al. (2010) addressed Arizona's restrictive language policy and the mandated Structured English Immersion Model (SEI). Mahoney et al. documented EL achievement in Arizona before and after Proposition 203 to determine if students met the "third prong" test of the 1981 case *Castañeda v. Pickard* (U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit), which stipulated that programs for ELs must show effectiveness (p. 50). The third-prong requirement is that students must demonstrate they have overcome language barriers (after a trial period), and Mahoney et al. examined whether EL students in Arizona had overcome these barriers. Proposition 203 was interpreted as a strict SEI model, and this mandate did result in a decline in EL enrollment in bilingual education (Mahoney et al., 2010). Mahoney et al. used SAT-9 scores (a national test) to compare

student outcomes across language classification groups (English Proficient and Fluent English Proficient (FEP-3 and FEP-2)) and found that student test scores did rise after the passage of Proposition 203, although the academic gains were nearly identical before and after Proposition 203. The second part of their study analyzed student results in meeting Arizona-specific standards before and after Proposition 203. Mahoney et al. found that fifth- and eighth-grade test scores on the AIMS (Arizona's Instrument to Measure Standards) declined after the implementation of Proposition 203. They used cross-sectional data to show that the different groups of students (EP versus FEP) scores narrowed for third grade but still showed large differences for fifth- and eighth-graders (6 and 15 point difference, respectively). Their work demonstrated that EL students in Arizona still faced barriers and therefore the state had not met the Castañeda effect.

There is reason to suspect the tide in Arizona may be changing: House Bill 2435 would change the educational landscape for ELL students by requiring 120 minutes per day of English in place of the 4-hour block (HB 2435, 2018). The bill also mentions "alternative English instruction," which leaves open to interpretation other models, such as a TWI model. Even as these contexts shift towards a pro-bilingualism platform, we must watch with caution to ensure that these means have the interests of ELL students in mind, not just a guised neoliberal agenda. Because Arizona still has its restrictive language environment, follow-up studies on how EL students are faring in this environment could further document the detrimental effects this policy has on Arizona's EL students. Furthermore, future studies could document public opinion on this policy to examine how, if at all, perspective has changed.

Expansive Policy Context

Only seven states (Delaware, Georgia, New Mexico, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Utah, and Washington state) have explicit goals or statements that promote DLE programs (Boyle et al., 2015). Delaware's Department of Education, for example, has a page dedicated to its Spanish immersion programs on its website. The website uses language indicating the importance of speaking Spanish because of the amount of countries and speakers worldwide, making the ability to speak Spanish "an important skill to be ready for the 21st century" (Delaware Department of Education, 2016). The website addresses immersion as the best way to learn a language and states that students will become biliterate as they learn to read and write "in Spanish along with English." This language indicates to me that these programs are for monolingual English speakers, not Spanish-speaking students. The website also mentions that Spanish is rated "the fourth most important international business language after English." Delaware also touts "world language immersion" programs specifically in economic terms as important to help Delaware "maintain and strengthen its domestic economy." (Delaware Department of Education, 2016). Delaware does have positive language expansion platforms and positions, but these programs equate bilingualism with global economic advantages and no other advantages of bilingualism are mentioned. In the 2014–2015 school year, approximately 6.6% of students in Delaware were ELL (NCES, 2015). While we might categorize Delaware as having progressive policies towards language immersion, it appears that these policies cater towards monolingual English speakers, not ELL students.

New Mexico takes an expansive stance on bilingual education and was the first state in the country to adopt an official law on bilingualism, the Bilingual Multicultural Education Act of 1973 (New Mexico Public Education Department, 2016). This legislation stipulates that the goal is for all students, including ELLs, to become bilingual and biliterate in English and an additional language (Spanish or a Native American language, for example). The legislation also empowers parents to decide what type of education works best for their children and that districts should provide them "appropriate training in English or in the home or heritage language to help their children succeed in school" (New Mexico Public Education Department, 2016). In the 2014-2015 school year, New Mexico had 14.6% ELL students, one of the largest populations of ELLs in the country (NCES, 2019a).

Even though states may promote bilingualism and bilingual education, we need to heed Valdes' (1997) cautionary note when examining these programs, their designs, and their target populations. Delaware and New Mexico both promote bilingual education but use different tones and approaches. Some programs may aim to support all learners and specifically EL students in their native language and English, while other programs equate bi- and multilingualism with global competitiveness. As DLE programs expand throughout the U.S., policymakers and educators should consider whose interests they serve and whether the intention is truly to close the achievement gap or to give more power to the already dominant population.

Local Policy Context

The focal city is linguistically diverse and has the seventh-largest immigration concentration in the country (Bernstein et al., 2014). Approximately 49% of the focal

city's immigrants come from Latin America, and Spanish is the second most common language after English (Bernstein, et al., 2014). The majority of Spanish speakers are from Central America, including El Salvador (26.9%), Guatemala (6%), and Honduras (3.6%). According to Bernstein et al. (2014), about 61.4% of Spanish-speakers in the focal city are English proficient and 38.6% are limited English proficiency (LEP) (p. 17). Among Spanish speakers in the focal district, 54% are considered "poor" (below the poverty level) and 30% are "low-income," which is 100% to 199% of the poverty level (Bernstein, et al., 2014). Spanish is the top language spoken by EB children in the focal city with approximately 7.4% of these speakers between 5–17 years old, which coincides with the mandatory ages for school attendance (5–18 years old). The Latinx population is increasing within the focal district from 15% of all students in the 2011–2012 school year, to 20% of students in the 2016–2017 school year. While the public system offers a wide array of educational options for its students, the adjusted cohort graduation rate for Latinx students compared to Whites shows a difference of 22 points (69% for Latinx students versus 91% for Whites). This gap is the largest between Latinx students and Whites in the country. Latinx students also have the highest drop-out rate nationally (8.6% compared to 6.2% and 5.2% for Black and White students).

Public School Options. In the focal district, there are two options for public education, including schools within the public-school district and public charter schools. Each of these systems fall under the local government, specifically the Office of the Mayor, but they are overseen by different bodies. The Deputy Mayor of Education (DME) oversees both the chancellor of the public-school district and the Office of the State Superintendent (OSSE). The chancellor oversees the public-school system. The

public charter school board is the entity that oversees the individual public charter schools (PCS) via the executive director of that board. The focal city is unique in its educational structure because of mayoral control over public education.

Charter schools started in the focal district in 1996 with rapid growth into the early 2000s. Prior to 2014, schools in the focal district, both public and charter, used separate lottery systems for school preferences. In 2014, approximately 43% of public-school students in the focal district were enrolled in charter schools (Glazerman & Dotter, 2017, p. 594). Today, 47% of students in the focal district attend a public charter school while 53% attend a public school (District Documents, 2019). While this dissertation does not expand on the public charter school system, it is important to note that the focal district's school lottery system includes both public schools and most public charter schools in an effort to provide a more efficient process for families applying to schools.

Dual Language Options. The focal district has a range of dual language school options including both public and charter schools. There are 14 elementary dual language programs, including eight public schools and six charter options (three charter options in Spanish). The first public, bilingual, school in the focal district was opened 29 years ago, in 1991, in the Woodley Park neighborhood, by a group of Salvadoran immigrants who wanted a school to serve the needs of their growing community. Currently, the focal district's public-school system has 11 dual language Spanish-English programs, including three whole school programs and eight strand programs (including two middle school and one high school strand program). Nine of 11 of the district's public schools are in the northwest part of the focal city, one is in the northeast, and one is in the southeast. Two of these schools are one-way immersion with a majority English-speaking population.

While there are several charter schools that offer additional language programs (Chinese and French), the focal public-school system only has one-way and two-way immersion programs in Spanish.

The Focal District's School Lottery. In 2014, the focal district's public-school system and public charter school system started using a common lottery. This lottery includes participating public charters and all public schools. Students or families may apply for up to 12 schools and rank them in their order of preference. The lottery uses a matching algorithm that includes preference categories to match students with schools. Preference categories are proximity to the school, siblings at the school, children of staff at the school, and in-boundary residence. Additionally, dual language school principals decide the division of Spanish and English dominant groups in the PK3 and PK4 lotteries. Families are "matched" with a school depending on their preferences and their rankings. Additionally, the schools have waiting lists for entry. In addition to the lottery's waiting list, some schools may have internal waiting lists if the DL program is a strand within the school.

One important aspect of the lottery is the difference in applying for a PK3/PK4 program versus applying for kindergarten. Because preschool is not mandatory education in the district, all applicants have to apply to these programs through the lottery. There are no criteria (such as income level) for applying; any district resident can apply. These programs are highly competitive, and families are not always matched with the PK program in their local school. Once students enter kindergarten, they have the right to attend their in-boundary school. This right indicates that they do not apply through the lottery for this spot because it is a guaranteed entry point for them. If the school offers a

strand program, students still must apply via lottery; neighborhood right is not guaranteed for a special program (such as dual language).

Conclusion

States, districts, and schools are largely responsible for their own education programs, which results in a large variation in the ways these programs operate. This section sought to provide an overview of the national landscape of educational language policy, including states that have a restrictive stance and those that promote bi- and multilingualism. This context is important because it allows us to understand the linguistic landscape of the United States, including how states value (or do not value) bilingual education and EL students. We saw, for example, that after passing restrictive measures, California reversed its Proposition 227 but with legislation that touts the economic advantage of multilingualism, not the cultural or heritage connections. Teacher credentials and certification, as well as parent engagement efforts, differ dramatically across states, which demonstrates that states, districts, and schools do not have the same expectations for their teachers or family participation. These factors are worrisome as the EL population continues to grow and educators continue to face the achievement gap between ELs and their monolingual peers. Locally, the focal district seems forward-looking with its expansion of TWI programs, but its rapid expansion may indicate that not all stakeholders have a voice in the process. The district is moving quickly to expand these programs, but more information, including parent perspectives and student achievement outcomes, will need to be gathered before their effectiveness can be gauged. Teacher retention and staffing remain critical issues in the local context. As demonstrated in California and Massachusetts, policies are dynamic and can shift with the political

climate, attitudes towards immigration, and the global economic climate. In California, the policy shift comes with a different perspective on language, one that equates multilingualism with economic gain. While this policy may benefit EL students, its neoliberal leanings favor the English-speaking majority, not necessarily the interests of the minority. These contexts provide us with an understanding of what restrictive language environments can look like, particularly for ELL students who stand the most to gain from a pro-bilingual education.

As DLE programs expand and gain popularity in the focal district, it is important to understand who has access to these programs and how this access aligns with the district's goal of promoting equity. In the 2015–2016 school year, only 20% of EL students in the focal district attended a DLE program. Additional research is required to explore the effectiveness of the systematic mechanisms (such as a lottery system and neighborhood-based access) that local schools implement to give access to this linguistic resource.

School Choice

Before turning to the literature on the reasons that parents choose DLE, it is important to examine some of the more general literature regarding school choice. School choice largely refers to options in school districts that might offer a voucher or a charter system in addition to the traditional public-school system. For the purposes of this study, I do not include the large body of literature that focuses on charter schools within the choice system. My rationale for not including the charter system is because my study aims to look at the population attending traditional public schools to understand how

people navigate this system of right. Charter school attendance implies choice, and this study targets families that may not have made a conscious "choice" decision.

Within the school choice literature, some authors examine inter-district school choice systems (Holme & Richards, 2009), the effects on peers who remain in their neighborhood school as other students choose to leave for better school options (Bifulco et al., 2007), and how EL students engage in the choice system (Mavrogordato & Harris, 2017; Mavrogordato & Stein, 2016). In this section, I include six articles about school choice. Cobb and Glass (2009) provide a summary and explanation for claims regarding school choice. Next, I discuss Bell (2009) who posited that choice sets assume that parents can choose from better options, which is not necessarily the case. I then turn to the specific choices mothers make in a Midwestern city (André-Bechely, 2005), followed by the effects of choice on a local school (Jordan & Gallagher, 2015). This section concludes with ELs in the choice system (Mavrogordato & Harris, 2017; Mavrogordato & Stein, 2016).

Regulated Versus Unregulated Choice System

Cobb and Glass (2009) discussed the concept of an unregulated choice system versus a regulated choice system. The authors discussed the differences between the two and gave me the opportunity to think carefully about the local choice system and whether it constitutes an unregulated or regulated system. First, it is important to understand the difference between a regulated and unregulated school system in order to see where the local district fits. Cobb and Glass made three claims: that unregulated choice plans "exacerbate the stratification of students along race, class, and achievement lines;" that controlled choice programs tend to appear to increase integration or at least prevent

further stratification; and that the evidence that unregulated programs lead to improved academic achievement is weak. (p. 262)

The differences between a controlled and an unregulated choice program is the role governing bodies play in determining the composition of the school population. A controlled choice program is "when a governing authority regulates student assignment, which could be characterized as a program that balances race, income levels, and achievement" (Cobb & Glass, 2009, p. 263). For example, in Montgomery County, Maryland, schools were desegregated by separating elementary schools between grades K2 and grades 35 so that the busing burden was shared between all groups of students, no matter family income level or race. This effort integrated a mostly Black school with a mostly White school, and this approach continues to this day.

In contrast, an unregulated choice system is one that does not monitor the distribution of students. Cobb and Glass (2009) stated, "The general intent of unregulated choice programs is to encourage market-based competition for students, thereby improving, it is assumed, school quality" (p. 264). Lincove et al. (2018) found that if popular schools are oversubscribed and children still have to attend lower quality schools, it does not help districts improve quality. Cobb and Glass (2009) also stated that the purpose of this unregulated choice system would be to allow students alternatives to attending low-performing schools.

Cobb and Glass (2009) provide important context to understanding the general choice system in the focal district, which I would argue is largely an unregulated system. While there is a mechanism to distinguish "Spanish-dominant" and "English-dominant" for the DLE programs, this distinction does not account for EL status, income-status, or

other factors to indicate that these students are ELs. “Spanish dominant” could be a fully bilingual child whose parents are high-income Spanish speakers.

Cobb and Glass (2009) made three claims. The first claim was that the choice programs that ignore student race, class, or achievement could exacerbate the stratification of students. Bifulco et al. (2007) showed more advantaged students opted out of their local schools compared to disadvantaged students, which can have negative effects for the students who remain in the local school. There is also evidence that disadvantaged students tend to use choice systems less often than their more advantaged peers, which results in the more advantaged peers switching to schools of higher socioeconomic status (Koedel et al., 2009). Similar to the school examples discussed in this section is the focal district’s choice system, which may increase stratification if it continues to run largely unregulated. For example, the focal district provides no transportation for its students (aside from students with special needs), so the burden of choice is largely on the parent. Even with a free metro card to use the public transportation system, families are largely limited to schools close to where they live, unless they have a parent or caretaker that can physically get the students to a school in another part of the city or they use public transportation. Cobb and Glass (2009) highlighted articles that address the claim that “unregulated school choice leads to greater stratification among students” and found substantial evidence to back up the claim (p. 267). My study also contributes to this body of literature.

The second claim Cobb and Glass (2009) addressed is that controlled choice programs can reduce minority and economic isolation. One example of a study that supports this claim is the inter-district school choice study (Holme and Well, 2009),

which found that desegregation programs worked better than open enrollment in terms of serving disadvantaged students. The study by Holme and Well makes me think of Montgomery County, Maryland, which is not inter-district but does integrate two distinct areas in order to diversify schools and desegregate the student populations.

The third claim Cobb and Glass (2009) address is that weak evidence exists to show that unregulated choice systems consistently provide educational benefits. The theory is that the more school choice people have, the less likely they are to attend low-performing schools, therefore either shutting the schools out of the market through school closure or forcing them to compete with the other schools through better performance and/or innovation. Lincove et al. (2018) demonstrated that the option of school choice did not necessarily lead to better schools because higher performing schools did not have enough space to accommodate all the students who wanted to attend. I believe the same statement could be made in the focal district given the length of the waitlists for the high-performing schools, including both DLE schools and neighborhood schools. While school closures still happen, there are students who attend focal district schools, both public and charter, that only receive a one-star rating (on a scale of 1–5), indicating that they are the lowest performing schools. While an examination of the STAR system is beyond the scope of this paper, it merits mentioning that students still attend these schools. The other component of this claim is that the unregulated system may lead to increased segregation, which could indicate that these environments can foster other challenges, such as poor teacher quality, lack of resources, and other aspects that tend to impact already vulnerable student populations (Cobb & Glass, 2009).

Lastly, Cobb and Glass (2009) discussed other ways to integrate populations in the school environment. Schools in which students from different economic, social, and racial backgrounds are integrated provide opportunities for them to learn from each other, which could lead to increased tolerance and understanding among populations. Cobb and Glass discussed the social and cultural capital that different groups of people bring and remarked that each person or group has their own sense of cultural knowledge. Cobb and Glass also mentioned is housing-based integration. For example, families who lived in concentrated poverty reflected the concentrated poverty in the schools (Cobb & Glass, 2009, p. 270).

While Cobb and Glass (2009) did not address DLE programs, my belief is that they are another way to integrate populations, particularly with linguistically and socially diverse student bodies. The establishment of a DLE program does not necessarily indicate integration, but it is an important step, and if political will and leadership exist, this program could be a successful integration model. Cobb and Glass encouraged policy makers "to pay particular attention to a choice program's effect on the least advantaged students in the system" (p. 274). The authors also suggested that housing policy be examined in relation to school desegregation, a recommendation I think is particularly important in urban areas where demographics are shifting and there are possibilities of gentrification and the expulsion of low-income populations. Cobb and Glass provided an important summary and considerations about evidence related to the claims made on controlled and unregulated choice systems. I argue that the local context of the choice system is largely unregulated, with the exception of controlling for language in the case of DLE programs. This control, however, is not economically based and still does not

serve the city's underserved group of EL students or low-income Spanish-speakers. The Cobb and Glass study helps me understand the system that operates in the local context and provides critical suggestions to address the inequities that still exist in our education system.

Choice System Assumes Choice

Bell (2009) discussed the constraints of a choice system and the assumption that parents choose from a range of schools that vary in quality. Bell examined the choice sets of parents in one Midwestern city to show how these sets differed by their social class backgrounds. The author used bounded rationality, social capital, and selection of postsecondary institutions to examine parent choice. Bell discussed the resources that parents use to construct their choice sets, which are different for parents depending on their social networks and their access to different sources of information.

Bell (2009) conducted a comparative case study including quantitative measures of 48 parental school choice processes prior to their children entering either sixth or ninth grade. The author followed parents from January 2003 to the following November to understand their decision processes before and after enrollment and additionally conducted multiple interviews. Bell found that poor and working-class parents did not choose schools ranging in quality but rather that the resources these parents used to choose their schools constrained their choice patterns. For example, Bell found social networks, customary enrollment patterns, and the understanding of student achievement were linked to the distribution of educational opportunities (p. 205). Bell argued that the implication that school choice will result in parents making better choices for their

children is not always true. Rather, Bell found there are social and historical factors that influence and shape a parent's decision-making.

Bell (2009) did caution that her sample was "biased towards parents who opted out of their traditional public schools, and as such, it likely overestimates the average parent's agency in school choice," which does acknowledge the population of parents who do not choose but stay with their public school (p. 206). While this decision to stay is a choice, further research on whether these parents considered other options would expand our understanding of parents' use (or non-use) of the choice systems. Bell stated that she had a "diverse group of parents," but her sample overrepresented White parents (p. 196). While this challenge in sampling can make the reader cautious about Bell's sample and who responded to her (the majority of her participants were African American and only four percent were Latinx), she provided interesting and important context for thinking about how parents make decisions about schools. I agree with Bell that the choice system is based on the assumption that parents have liberty to choose for their children so they can get them to a better school. If parents cannot make this choice, or if they do not have access to the same information, then the choice might not work to improve their childrens' educational outcomes. I will return to Bell's article in my Discussion as I see some of her evidence present in my own study.

Inequities in School Choice

André-Bechely (2005) aimed to explain how schools were still largely segregated by race and class after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and with a school choice system in play. This two-year ethnographic study examined the experiences of 13 parents, mostly mothers, and school district personnel to understand choice processes.

The author presented three parent narratives as examples of choice practices in this district. In these cases, all three mothers worked to get their children into a different school, thus using the school choice system. André-Bechely proposed that through this process, whether conscious or not, these mothers became "participants in the inequities of the district's choice programs" (p. 269). André-Bechely showed how school choice policies that aim to be more equitable actually still reproduce the inequities they were intended to reduce.

In André-Bechely's (2005) study in a large urban district on the West Coast, parents had three different school choice options. The first was magnet schools, which was the most popular choice program. Magnet schools required an application and included special programs, such as talented and gifted. The second option was open enrollment, both through inter- and intra-district mechanisms, as per prior legislation in the district (1993). In the case of open enrollment, schools had to determine availability of seats after accommodating for resident students and other populations that had access to the schools. Parents also had to submit an application for these schools. The last option consisted of parents being offered permits for their children to attend a school that was not the neighborhood school. The permits covered child and parent needs, with the most common being childcare. In this case, an administrator reviewed and approved permits based on need.

In André-Bechely's (2005) study, all three of the mothers had daughters they wanted to enroll in El Rancho Middle School, a popular choice with a gifted magnet program within the school. The three participants each used different ways to get into the program. Suzanne, the only resident that lived in El Rancho's neighborhood, claimed her

daughter's Native American heritage to get her into the magnet program through a special integration mechanism. One of the mothers forged paperwork to get her child into the school, and the other participant went above the school administrator's head to get a permit for an elementary school for her child.

André-Bechely (2005) suggested important implications for school choice policies when considering the systemic mechanisms in place and how racial privilege plays out in this context. The author brought awareness to the institutional and racial biases that harbor inequities in an educational system, even with the option of choice. André-Bechely concluded, "Perhaps a closer examination will show that the rules and processes that districts institutionalize to bring about access, equity, and equality may serve to hide the very real ways that race and class still support exclusion in our schools" (p. 302). I hope that my study contributes to this body of literature and provides information to examine these mechanisms in my own local context.

School Choice and Gentrification

Jordan and Gallagher (2015) discussed the effects of school choice and its implications for local neighborhood social cohesion, real estate, and workforce development. While this brief does not discuss housing displacement, Jordan and Gallagher focused on the potential displacement or marginalization of low-income children in school (p. 3). They noted that low-income non-White families were less likely to exercise choice compared to White upper-income parents. In their documentation, Jordan and Gallagher highlighted the conditions under which urban parents decided to send their children to schools in urban districts, which included clustering into the same schools where they knew other gentrifier families would be in attendance.

Jordan and Gallagher (2015) emphasized different pathways from school choice to gentrification. First, they discussed open enrollment as a way that urban schools may be more appealing as families can look to attend schools out of their boundary. In the focal district, the open-enrollment process through the lottery, coupled with neighborhood right to attend, means that there is not as strong a link between home and school. The authors also discussed the incentive of specialized programs, such as language immersion, STEM, or talented and gifted programs, that may entice middle-class families to attend urban schools.

Jordan and Gallagher (2015) discussed the potential exclusion of low-income and marginalized communities with an increase in the number of gentrifying families in urban schools. According to Jordan and Gallagher, low-income parents may be excluded from the decision-making processes as schools cater to the more affluent population, and the option to "opt-out" of one's own school could lead to further racial and economic segregation in the case that gentrifiers do not want to attend their local school. The authors concluded that while we do not know exactly about how school choice affects gentrification, it important to examine the social and economic landscapes of these communities to begin to look for trends in schools and residential decision-making (p. 11). In my research, I found that gentrification is also a potential factor in equitable access to DLE programs, particularly as the neighborhoods of my focal schools shift demographically.

English Learners and School Choice

Mavrogordato and Harris (2017) acknowledged that there is little literature that examines how ELs engage in school choice systems, and they aimed to fill this gap by

looking at how EL status impacted these students' likeliness of enrolling in a nonzoned school. They also looked at how enrollment in a nonzoned school varied by EL status and how demographic and educational profile characteristic compared across EL statuses (p. 801). They studied three categories of students: students never labeled as EL, students currently labeled as EL, and students formerly labeled as EL. They found significant differences in how the three groups engaged in school choice in their specific urban district.

Mavrogordato and Harris (2017) used quantitative data to examine how school choice policies "shape the educational experiences of the most underserved student groups, particularly English learners (ELs)" (p. 801). Their methodology included descriptive analyses to explore the differences in use of school choice related to EL status. To determine whether EL status was related to the probability of enrollment in a nonzoned school, the authors estimated a set of binary logistic regression models with built-in control variables, such as demographics and educational profile, then added the characteristics of the school zone (p. 811).

Mavrogordato and Harris (2017) found that EL students across their three status categories enrolled in nonzoned schools at significantly lower rates than their peers who were never ELs (p. 814). For example, in elementary schools, 33.05% of current ELs attended a nonzoned school compared to 45.94% of their never-EL peers. The authors also acknowledged that attending a nonzoned school could be related to other "systematic differences," such as that current EL students might be poorer than students who were never EL students, thus driving a lower rate in choosing a nonzoned school (p. 815).

Using regression techniques, Mavrogordato and Harris (2017) examined the relationship between EL status and choosing a nonzoned school when controlling for student characteristics and the attributes of a student's zoned school (p. 817). They found that parents of current EL students were approximately 28% less likely to enroll their children in a nonzoned school (p. 819). Interestingly, the authors also found that students in gifted and talented programs were more likely to be choosers, while special education students were less likely to be choosers. The authors also found differences in how the parents of former EL students engaged in the school choice process, finding that they enrolled in nonzoned schools at rates similar to—or even beyond—never EL students (former EL students were 19% more likely to enroll in a nonzoned school than never-ELs, after controlling for other characteristics) (p. 821).

Mavrogordato and Harris (2017) concluded that current EL students enrolled less in nonzoned schools than their never-EL peers. While this could be due to socioeconomic factors, their data also showed that the school choice system "may not be accessible or attractive to the parents of current ELs" (p. 820). The authors recommended that the school choice system draw more on the community cultural capital of current ELs and their families than the individualistic approach to informing parents about school choice (p. 822). Mavrogordato and Harris also discussed "controlled choice programs [that] 'oversee the assignment of students to schools with equity in mind and typically provide additional supports to children and families from disadvantaged backgrounds'" (p. 822). Their conclusions are particularly relevant to my study as I look to understand the qualitative side of why and how parents enroll in dual language programs. Mavrogordato and Harris specifically mentioned interviewing parents of current EL students, both

zoned and nonzoned, to find more information on the barriers that parents faced in accessing school choice and how they overcame these barriers (p. 823). While I am not considering EL status in my analysis, my study can make an important contribution to this literature by providing the personal narrative aspect of how families navigate the focal district's school choice system. I believe Mavrogordato and Harris shed light on the important issue of considering how families access and navigate school choice systems. I also think that by categorizing families into three groups, the authors might have missed some important distinctions among these families. For example, what does the never-EL group encompass? Are members of this group native English speakers as well as bilingual students who were never labeled as ELs? Their study would be enhanced by qualitative measures that examine the specific characteristics of these families to understand how their EL status influenced their school choice decisions. For example, do the parents of former EL parents have more access to information because they are also English speakers? Are the current EL students limited because their parents do not speak English? Mavrogordato and Harris do not provide this information, but it would help us understand at a greater depth how these families navigate this choice system.

Mavrogordato and Stein (2016) used a mixed-methods study to examine the school choice decision of Latinx parents in the school system of Indianapolis, Indiana, because it was a "new destination" (p. 1040) and represented a sharp growth in its EL population (300% between 1995 and 2005), which included Latinx enrollment (p. 1040). Mavrogordato and Stein designed a two-phase research study in which they used a parent survey supplemented with an in-depth case study of four charter schools. For the quantitative component of the study, the authors examined parents' primary and

secondary reasons for choice of a charter school and ran cross-tabulations of the reasons by parent ethnicity. They then conducted t-tests to confirm statistical significance. For the qualitative component, the authors interviewed both Latinx and non-Latinx parents in order to understand how the choice process varied between these different populations. The authors also wanted to understand what motivated Latinx parents to consider a charter school as a school option and what informed Latinx parents' decisions to enroll in a charter school. They used market theory, the traditional conceptual framework used in literature that looks at school choice, but argued that market theory does not "explicitly address that parents likely possess different resources, skills, social connections, and cultural contexts and that these differences have the potential to expand or constrain preferences…" (p. 1035). They argued that language barriers may make it more difficult for Latinx parents to navigate the educational system and that these parents may not be as familiar with the school system or have "cultural fluency" (p. 1035) regarding how these systems work, particularly if they are new immigrants. The authors also argued that Latinx parents may more heavily rely on their social connections then their White English-speaking peers. Mavrogordato and Stein found that across subgroups, parents primarily chose academics as the primary reason for enrollment in the charter school, and there was little difference between Latinx parents and other parents in this regard. Latinx parents were more likely to mention discipline as an important reason for choice of school, but they were less likely to note safety as compared to White and Black parents (p.1045). Mavrogordato and Stein found that there were similarities between the Latinx and non-Latinx parents as to why they chose the charter school option, but there were also some striking differences as to how they gathered their information. For example,

Latinx parents relied more heavily on word of mouth (p. 1057), while non-Latinx parents used other tools to generate their choice set. In this sense, the authors concluded that the Latinx parents had a smaller choice pool to draw from because they relied on the information of their social circles rather than on broader information networks. The authors also found that the bilingual staff at Chelsea Charter School acted as a bridge for Latinx parents and facilitated the process of choosing a charter school. Interestingly, the authors concluded that if policies do not support better access to information, urban education reform might not play out as intended (p. 1058). For example, if Latinx parents rely heavily on word of mouth for school choice, their choice sets might be more limited and therefore work counter to "equity and quality goals of choice reforms" (p. 1058). The authors concluded that policymakers need "to be attentive to the needs of all families and carefully craft systems of school choice that explicitly support the goals of combatting inequality and expanding educational opportunity for all students" (p. 1059). My research expands on this finding as I also found word of mouth, which is limited by the social network of participants, to be an important factor in school choice.

Further research should investigate the role of staff, or "gatekeepers," such as front office staff and administrators, to see how they influence and impact how parents navigate school choice systems. The people in these roles could have more influence than policymakers recognize regarding parent school choice and how parents engage in school choice systems.

Conclusion

This section contributes to my understanding of school choice as a system, from the theoretical frame that addresses the claims made about the systems and the

differences between a controlled choice system and an unregulated choice system (Cobb & Glass, 2009) to how EL families use these systems and factors that may limit them in their school choice decisions (Mavrogordato & Harris, 2017; Mavrogordato & Stein, 2016). Not only does this literature contribute to my understanding of the local school choice context, which I would categorize as an unregulated model, but my findings also contribute to this body of literature as they add to our understanding of how Latinx families use a choice system.

Lottery as a Mechanism for School Choice

The concept behind a school lottery system is for it to serve as a mechanism to give families school choice. School choice advocates argue that the school choice system allows disadvantaged families to move beyond their neighborhood school and have access to good schools as opposed to their address determining their educational options. Charter schools, the most common option for school choice, started in the early 1990s as alternatives to public schools. Similar to public schools, charter schools receive public funding, but they have more freedoms than public schools that are regulated by a district system. While the breadth of the charter school literature is beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to note that charter schools make up an important component of the school choice system, particularly in the focal district.

The body of literature that examines school lottery systems varies from studies that aim to evaluate choice and academic achievement (Parrao et al., 2018; Tuttle et al., 2012; Zimmer & Engberg, 2016), to studies that look at capacity constraints and the lottery (Lincove et al., 2018), to studies that problematize the lottery as a system (Chew, 2019). There is limited literature as to how families, specifically low-income Latinx

families, access school choice systems (as discussed above; Mavrogordato & Harris, 2017; Mavrogordato & Stein, 2016), and there is just one study specific to the lottery system in the focal district (Glazerman & Dotter, 2017). In this section, I will first address school lotteries as a choice system (Chew, 2019; Lincove et al., 2018), then I will address the lottery specific to the focal district (Glazerman & Dotter, 2017).

Lottery as Maximizer of Inequality

Chew (2019) problematized the school lottery system through analysis of two specific movie representations of school choice, *The Lottery*, and *Waiting for Superman*. Chew argued that the lottery, supposedly a neutral system, is actually a "discursive practice co-constituting the competitive frame of education quasi-markets" (p. 587). Chew stated that as a competitive system, the lottery ultimately is concerned with the maximization of inequality among participants. Chew made some important points about the lottery system as a whole that are relevant to my research. First, by problematizing the neutrality of the lottery system, Chew suggested that the system is not actually based on luck but is "a competition rewarding participants based on their comparative efforts" (p. 589). While lottery systems do technically expand school choice by enabling participants to apply to various schools (12 in the focal district), demand for the most popular schools always exceeds the supply of spots in these schools (demonstrated by wait-list data). Therefore, there are winners and losers because the quantity of spaces is finite and not everyone who wants a spot will get one.

Chew (2019) stated that prior to the charter school movement, there was minimal competition among public schools because they each had their pool of students within their neighborhood to draw from. The introduction of charter schools created competition

between charters and also between the charter and the public-school systems. While parents might have had a choice before (if they could afford a private or parochial school), the charter system gave families other public options.

Chew (2019) noted, “the optimal functioning of a marketized education system, and its format of competition, requires other discursive practices—which will somehow involve the state—such as standardized tools for families to differentiate educational products/services and transparency or information” (p. 599). This note is important and is the reason education advocates in the focal city aimed for the STAR system to make both public and charter schools easier to compare to each other. While Chew did not argue against school choice, he did posit that the nature of a lottery system is to create competition, which leads to winners and losers. The presence of school reforms, such as Race to the Top, also can intensify this competition.

While Chew (2019) focused intensely on the education system as a quasi-market and made his argument in terms of the structure of the competitive forces within that market, he did make important points that I have shared here. In the focal district, which incorporates all public schools and most public charter schools in its lottery system, the lottery is more efficient and better for families, but there is also a sense of competition between the two sectors in terms of student enrollment.

Capacity Constraints of Lottery Systems

Lincove et al. (2018) discussed the capacity constraints to the lottery system in New Orleans. New Orleans makes an interesting case study for this research because it has a city-wide choice-system that is not based on neighborhood preferences that started after the devastation of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Similar to the focal district, New

Orleans simplified its school choice system by using a common centralized enrollment process called OneApp. Lincove et al. looked at the school preferences of families in New Orleans compared to the results of this lottery system. They found that over 40% of participants were assigned to a school that was not their preferred school (p.95). They argued that because of this lack of matching, or the popularity of some schools that not all students could attend, other schools were allowed to operate with "weak demand" because they could enroll students who did not get into the higher quality, oversubscribed schools that they preferred. While they employed quantitative methods to address these questions, I think they made important points, such as the idea that limiting seats at a popular school results in "enabling a less-desirable school to maintain consistent enrollment in a choice system. In short, low-quality schools have little market incentive in improvement if they can rely on a steady stream of students who cannot access the options they prefer" (p. 95). I think this point is important, particularly in districts such as the focal district, where the most popular schools have lengthy waitlists and families are not always matched with their preferred school. According to Lincove et al., in New Orleans, families could rank eight schools of their choice and possibly not be matched with any in the first round. Paradoxically, this situation seems to suggest an absence of competition.

Lincove et al. (2018) made a few interesting observations about their data. First, they noted that fewer than 6% of active applicants ranked eight schools in the transitional grades (such as middle and high school entry years), and it was more common for families to list only one new choice (p. 101). They inferred that this choice could result because the parents did not have eight desirable choices or because parents may have

been limited in their ability to research eight different schools. The quality indicators that Lincove et al. described included school report grades, teacher experience, and distance to school. They found that first choice schools were usually closer to home (compared to the last choice schools), but the quality of schools was not equally distributed in the city. They noted that the lack of match between a family and first-choice school indicated that a scarcity in highly desired seats resulted in students being matched with schools of "lower observable quality" than what their parents preferred (p. 103).

Importantly, Lincove et al. (2018) noted that public schools can survive as long as the popular schools are oversubscribed. Because the public-school system is not a private good, the government is required to provide every student a seat. Lincove et al. suggested this means that parents can be limited in their ability to leave a public school if there are no other options available to them, even if their public school is not the option they wanted for their child. Lincove et al. suggested this problem persists in a choice system, particularly in urban settings where the quality and supply of schools varies and where many families cannot afford a private option (p. 107). In the case of New Orleans, the authors reported that students who did not receive their first-choice options were assigned to schools that had an average rating of C-. This finding was due to assignment of students to their second or third choice and the limited supply of high-quality schools. Lincove et al. concluded that this enrollment system was likely to leave parents largely unsatisfied if the schools were below the parents' standards. The qualitative perspective of parents' opinions adds to the depth of the authors' research because this perspective allows the reader to understand the parents' ranking systems, decision-processes, and feelings toward the school placements.

While my research was not focused on New Orleans, it does contribute to the body of literature about how and why parents make school decisions. Lincove et al. (2018) concluded that their results demonstrated statistically significant differences in school quality based on the outcome of the school lottery (p. 107). They explained New Orleans system did provide a "safety net" in the sense that there were multiple rounds of the lottery that enabled students to have multiple opportunities for reassignment. The authors also provided insight to how parents ranked their school choices, showing that parents ranked schools with higher public ratings higher than those with low scores. Lincove et al.'s findings were less clear regarding the influence of distance to school as an important factor in school choice, but they did conclude distance is less important than other factors. Lincove et al. demonstrated New Orleans presented a case in which many children were in enrolled in schools their families did not prefer (p. 108). More research should expand on how school placement impacts a family's investment in the school and how school placement impacts school morale.

Lottery System in the Local Context

Glazerman and Dotter (2017) found differences between how low-income and high-income families prioritized options in the context of the focal district. For example, low-income choosers did not share a preference for schools with similar demographics, unlike higher-income students who wanted to stay within their own demographics (p. 607). For middle-school rankings, the authors found that low-income choosers ranked schools using the school's proficiency rate, which were directly observable on the focal district's lottery website (p. 608). Higher-income choosers, however, ranked their schools on the accountability categories, which "required more effort to find" (p. 608). These

findings have implications for how families use the lottery system and differences in access between high and low-income choosers. While Glazerman and Dotter did not look specifically at ethnicity, their study offers insight into economic differences and the navigation of the choice system, which is particularly relevant in communities undergoing gentrification and demographic changes that result in including various socioeconomic groups in the same school setting.

Conclusion

This discussion of lottery literature examined different perspectives on this mechanism, and in one case, a perspective specific to the focal district. This information guides me in understanding this mechanism as one option for promoting choice in a more equitable way. Chew (2019) problematized the lottery system through two specific references to two different documentary films that highlight parents and their processes in using the school lottery. In this case, Chew described how the nature of a lottery is to have winners and losers and to promote competition among parties. Lincove et al. (2018) explored the choice system of New Orleans and the theory that school choice will promote competition among schools and result in the less popular, lower performing schools being less well attended. Lincove et al. found, however, that because of the demand for the popular schools, students still had to attend poor performing schools despite the parents' preferences for a higher performing school. Glazerman and Dotter (2017) provided important insights into how families made their school choices, particularly between different income levels. In sum, all of these perspectives are important as we look to examine the specific case of the focal study and how the lottery

in that district works, particularly in terms of equitable access to a desired resource, DLE programs.

Reasons Parents Choose Two Way Immersion

As Valdes (2015) stated, the role of the family is particularly important for *intergenerational transmission*, "the continued, habitual use of ethnic, heritage, or immigrant languages across generations" (p. 256). This notion is particularly relevant because language use must be fostered and schools can play a significant role in this language transmission. This section seeks to explore the literature surrounding the parent decision to enroll children in TWI programs, specifically, "Why do families choose to enroll their children in TWI programs? What factors play a role in these decisions?" These questions will allow me to gain insight into these areas of study and understand where further research is needed.

There is a body of literature regarding the parent decision to enroll their children in TWI programs (Dorner, 2010; Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006; Lopez, 2013; Lopez & Tapanes, 2011; Parkes, 2008; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Shannon & Milian, 2002). This literature explored the various factors, including familial background factors, that explain the choice of this type of educational experience. For example, some families may be raising their children bilingually but sending them to a monolingual school because they do not have the option of a heritage language or TWI program (Rodriguez, 2015). Other families may be raising children bilingually and believe that the role of the school is to teach their children English (Schecter & Bayley, 1997). Some families want their children to be bilingual to connect with their culture, while others believe bilingualism will give their children better economic opportunities (Lopez, 2013). The reasons vary

across different demographics, including socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and parental level of education.

Some of the articles reviewed in this section discussed parental decision factors (Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006; Parkes, 2008; Shannon & Milian, 2002), while others specifically focused on Latinx children in TWI programs (Dorner, 2010; Lopez & Tapanes, 2011; Schecter & Bayley, 1997). The last article in this section specifically focused on the reasons mothers chose TWI programs (Lopez, 2013). This line of research is important because the landscape of the United States is increasingly diverse, so understanding the different reasons parents enroll their children will help educators and policymakers ensure that program goals match parental expectations and help educators and policymakers provide successful programs. This area of research also allows me to understand where my research contributes to our understanding of parental choices.

Methodology

This line of research is mostly qualitative, based on case studies that include interviews with parents regarding their reasons for enrollment. A couple of the studies were case studies from larger, mixed methods studies and included structured interviews (Lopez, 2013), audio/videotaping of family language dynamics and child narratives, and writing samples (Schecter & Bayley, 1997). Giacchino-Baker and Piller (2006), Shannon and Milian (2002), Parkes (2008), and Ramos (2007) used surveys to gauge parents' support and interest in TWI programs, one of which led to parent interviews (Giacchino-Baker & Piller, 2006). One of the studies employed quantitative measures regarding student academics in the TWI program (Lopez & Tapanes, 2011), while another included participant observation, interviews with various stakeholders, document analysis, and

case studies (Dorner, 2010). Two studies specifically used focus groups to document parent satisfaction with DLE programs (Lee et al., 2015; Olivos & Lucero, 2018). The range of methods used for this type of research implies that there is more to document than just parents' opinions. In some cases, student outcomes and comparisons across programs was important (Lopez & Tapanes, 2011), while other research sought to document parents' support because of an antagonistic policy environment (Parkes, 2008). In my own research, I decided the use of semi-structured interviews was the most valuable way to compare administrators' and district officials' perspectives with parents' perspectives.

While this section focuses on parental decisions about enrollment, the literature reviewed reflects that this specific decision, in some cases, can be much larger than the parents' beliefs. This decision falls into a complex family language policy landscape. It is difficult, in some cases, to understand the context of interviews. Lopez (2013), for example, depended on mothers to share their husbands' viewpoints on the enrollment decision (p. 213). This technique raises some warnings for me because it implies some of the information is not based on first-hand interactions but interpretations or hypothetical data, therefore making it difficult to judge its accuracy. However, in general, interviews certainly do provide important insight as to why families choose to enroll their children in TWI programs.

Shannon and Milian (2002) provided their survey questions, but the questions are basic and somewhat leading (e.g. "Do you believe that dual language programs are effective in teaching a second language?") (p. 687). The documentation of these questions allows the reader to think about how participants might interpret them and

therefore become a more critical reader of this study. The questions also provide insight regarding the type of information the authors wanted to solicit from participants. Parkes (2008) also used a survey, but he used open-ended questions such as, "I chose dual language for my child because I want my child to be…," and he not only provided respondents with a series of options to use to fill in the blank, but also provided the option to write in their own reason (p. 641). I find this type of survey more dynamic and useful because it allows parents to express their reasons and allows for more specific categorization of the reasons for comparison across the group. The existing body of research and different methodologies used allowed me to understand benefits and challenges of each, ultimately leading to my decision to use semi-structured interviews for my own research.

The Importance of Context

As Dorner (2010) wrote, "Educators and policymakers should remember that context—and language—matters" (p. 247). Across the literature, the social context of the decision to enroll one's child in a TWI matters. As we see in this body of literature, some families want their school to support a second or minority language (Lopez & Tapanes, 2010), while others believe the role of the school is to help their children acquire the majority language (Schecter & Bayley, 1997). Some families believe that the school has an obligation to help them in language maintenance and development, while others viewed the role of the school as separate from the family and as a venue for English instruction. For example, Schecter & Bayley (1997) wrote,

> The Texas families reported on here believed that the public schools had an obligation to assist them in maintaining their linguistic and cultural identity,

> whereas the California families concurred with the view that school was a place to acquire academic competence in the dominant societal language and that responsibility for Spanish maintenance essentially rested with the family. (p. 537)

Studies that specifically examined Latinx-parent choice regarding enrollment in a TWI program provide an important perspective on why families might choose this type of model for their children. For example, Lopez and Tapanes (2011) wrote, "Understanding that not all language-majority children are native English speakers also provides an alternate view to this program" (p. 159). Their study is important because not only does it add to the literature of why these parents would choose TWI, but it also documents their language policies at home. All the mothers interviewed for this study spoke Spanish at home to their children, and eight of nine of the students lived in a Latinx community (Lopez & Tapanes, 2011, p. 153). More information regarding the role of the community and the parents' enrollment decisions would add to the literature regarding the different factors that contribute to their choice. Given that most of them live in predominantly Spanish-speaking households and communities, their desire for their children to be bilingual would allow the children to be active members of both their households and their communities.

In the literature, word of mouth was also a factor that impacted a family's decision to enroll in a TWI program. In her study based in a suburban area outside of Chicago, Dorner (2010) observed,

> Having access to TWI discourse through their connections, many families found themselves convincing other Hispanics that TWI would help them reach their common goal: high levels of proficiency in two languages. However, the Balderas

> family, representative of the most disadvantaged in mixed communities like Engleville's communities, had little access to both the district-provided opportunities and the informal sense-making experiences of other families. (246)

This example demonstrates both the importance of community support for this goal of bilingualism and the socioeconomic divide of resources available to families. Dorner also documented a conversation that one of her study participants reported regarding the decision to enroll in a TWI program. The mother explained that many people told her not to enroll her child in a dual-language program because it would cause confusion (p. 314). This example shows that there is misunderstanding in the community regarding bilingual education programs.

The Shannon and Milian (2002) study consisted of a survey of parents with children in a dual-language program to understand their reasons for enrolling their children in this model. The authors explained the survey was a result of Ron Unz trying to get "voters to amend their state constitution to eliminate bilingual education as he did in both California and Arizona" (p. 681). Shannon and Milian claimed that opponents to bilingual education said that the parents did not want their children to have a TWI education, but they explained their study told a different story: "The results of a survey of these parents were overwhelmingly supportive of the dual language programs their children used" (p. 631). This result is important, given the political context of the study, because it shows support for TWI programs. I would expect parents who choose to enroll their students in TWI programs to be supportive of this model because they are not obligated to enroll their children in this type of program. Therefore, I am not convinced that this population is representative of the larger population. Further research into the

understanding the parents' perspective would also allow educators to be more effective in communicating the educational options and program goals to these families.

Giacchino-Baker and Piller's (2006) study also noted the social or political context that may influence a parent's decision to enroll in a TWI program. They wrote, "Since the passage of Proposition 227 in June 1998, heritage language instruction in California's classrooms has continued to decline…" (p. 6). They cited the requirement of parental waivers as a reason that "…strong partnerships between schools and parents have resulted in the support of alternative educational models that promote bilingualism and social justice" (p. 6). Showing that parents chose a TWI program in the climate of disapproval provides a vital piece of evidence for understanding this decision.

Dorner (2010) found that policy can mean different things to the various people involved (p. 311). For example, she wrote, "Unlike their parents' viewpoints, which reflected the written documentation about the TWI program, children's perspectives reflected the public discourse about and rationale for the new TWI policy" (p. 311). Her study adds to the literature by also documenting children's perspectives on TWI programs. While I do not focus on children's perspectives, I have included this study because Dorner addressed both perspectives and it is important to note how they vary. For example, parents are more focused on the future use of bilingualism, whereas the children recognize it as important for the academic task at hand. More surprising, according to Dorner, children "seemed to recognize the political relevance of the English language" (p. 315). I think this is an important take-away because it shows that they understand the broader context influencing their language use.

Factors Affecting Parent Choices

The factors involved in making a decision about TWI enrollment varied in the literature according to native language (English versus Spanish speakers), socio-economic status, parent level of education, and as previously explored, the social and political context. As Giacchino-Baker and Piller (2006) succinctly stated, "Parents' motivation for placing their children in the TWI program was complex" (p. 16). The literature reviewed here certainly points to the complexity of this issue. Giacchino-Baker and Piller also found that the "majority of English-first students had at least one parent who spoke Spanish as a first language and/or described himself or herself as a native speaker or a good speaker of Spanish" (p. 15). This distinction is important, but I would like to see even more of a separation between the parents who are native speakers of Spanish with English-dominant children, versus the "good" speakers of Spanish with English-dominant children because I think the reasons each sub-group would choose a TWI program would vary.

One of the overarching themes of the choice to enroll in TWI was the different reasons why native English-speaking families chose to enroll versus the reasons why native Spanish-speaking families chose to enroll. For example, Giacchino-Baker and Piller (2006) explained, "Both groups agreed that bi-literacy was even more important, but the Spanish parents (93.3%) were in much stronger agreement than their English counterparts (78.6%)" (p. 17). The authors did not interpret this data, but it leads me to think that the language majority community may not see bi-literacy as important because their native language is the dominant language, whereas the Spanish-speaking families may want their children to both maintain their native language and develop English skills.

The English-speaking mothers Lopez (2013) studied spoke of the hope of increased academic success, whereas the Spanish-speaking mothers spoke of communicating with extended family members and connection to their familial, cultural, and linguistic roots (p. 222). Additionally, in the Lopez study, one of the native English-speakers cited religious implications of her daughter's bilingualism, which is not a topic largely explored in the literature.

Schecter and Bayley (1997) presented particularly interesting information because all the families in their study were of Mexican-descent but had different expectations of the role of language in school. Among these families, their choice varied according to factors such as socioeconomic status and geographical location (Texas versus California). This article provides important information for educators and researchers working with Spanish-speaking families regarding the decision to enroll in TWI programs. For example, according to Schecter and Bayley, some families thought Spanish was strictly their responsibility, while others wanted educational support from their schools. All four of the families in this study ultimately decided that they wanted their children to learn Spanish, but their approaches were different. The authors wrote,

> Parents in all the families endorsed Spanish maintenance and spoke of the language as an important aspect of cultural identity…, whereas the family that had moved most fully into the middle class was the least successful in the intergenerational transmission of Spanish, despite a commitment to cultural maintenance. (p. 13)

This quotation speaks to the role of class and suggests that higher socioeconomic status does not indicate success with language maintenance. This example also makes me think

about English as a status symbol and that perhaps the use of English was associated with the middle-class family's economic success. This study reminds us that no two families are alike and might help us understand reasons for their decisions. We need to be aware of these differences to best understand the types of support families need, their expectations, and their decisions surrounding language use. Further research that examines the role of social class and decisions around language would help us understand family challenges and provide specific supports for families.

Lopez (2013) also discovered that the reasons for enrollment in TWI programs were related to socioeconomic status. For example, in her study, in which only one of three native Spanish-speaking mothers was a U.S. resident and middle class, whereas both English-speaking mothers were U.S. citizens and middle/upper-class (p. 215), the families with more economic means spoke of Spanish for travel and college entrance tests, whereas the families with less economic means spoke of visiting relatives in Mexico and higher-earning status as a bilingual. This dynamic indicates that families have different expectations for the use of a TWI program education. These reasons need to be taken into consideration as schools aim to address the needs and learning objectives of the students. TWI programs can be a bridge between families from socioeconomic backgrounds because all families believe in the importance of bilingualism. As demonstrated in the Cautions Surrounding Dual Language Education section, these interests might not always align and may threaten the interests of the language minority speakers.

Parents' level of education, specifically the mother, was also a factor in TWI enrollment decisions. As Giacchino-Baker and Piller (2006) explained, "Given the power

of mothers in making decisions related to choice of schools, as well as to participation in school activities and assistance with homework, their higher educational levels may play a significant role in the decision making and supportive functions" (p. 15). This perspective connects with other studies that only look at the mothers' perspectives or rely on them to share the fathers' opinion (Lopez, 2013).

Conclusion

To summarize, a parent's decision to enroll their child in a TWI program is multi-faceted, complex, and depends on many factors. The reasons depend on socioeconomic status, native-language, and education level, among others. The uniting factor across the literature is that these parents are choosing this type of education for their students (although I acknowledge that according to the Shannon and Milan (2002) survey, some parents did not feel they had a choice). Educators, policymakers, and researchers can gain valuable information by exploring this choice and the different dynamics that may or may not influence a parent's decision.

Parent choices have broader implications for society regarding language use. The choice the family makes about language for home use could reflect larger societal values or beliefs, which is important when thinking about how communities can support bi- and multilingual families. The choice of school also reflects parents' values regarding language and societal expectations of supporting this language. Thinking about these choices will allow researchers to understand parent rationale and hopefully target and develop support for their decisions.

Middle-Class Parents Choosing Urban Schools

There is a developing body of literature regarding the role of middle-class parents in urban schools. In this section, I provide insight into the role of middle-class parents in urban schools more generally and then specifically related to a DLE program in Philadelphia (Chaparro, 2019), which has striking parallels to my own research. I include discussion of a literature review (Posey-Maddox et al., 2014), a study of parent involvement in a Brooklyn neighborhood school via posts to email lists (Freidus, 2016); an investigation into neighborhood shifts in a southern city (Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017), and Chaparro's (2019) ethnographic study regarding both English and Spanish-speaking parents' perceptions of a new DLE program.

Themes in the Literature

To ground myself in an understanding of this field, I reviewed Posey-Maddox et al.'s (2014) literature review, which divided the literature into four different themes related to middle-class parents and their involvement in urban schools. The themes the authors identified were parent preferences, identities, and values; the role of marketing campaigns and informal networks in attracting the middle-class; the nature and consequences of middle-class parent engagement in urban schooling; and the relationship between neighborhood change and school change (p. 446). Posey-Maddox et al. explained that while a body of literature usually focuses on the inequities experienced in urban education settings, there is a growing body of literature that focuses on the decisions of middle- and upper-middle class, mostly White families, that decide to stay in their urban area and attend the neighborhood schools. The authors noted that this movement raises questions about how these demographic changes "disrupt existing

patterns of segregation and inequality or contribute to new forms of marginalization and exclusion" (p. 446). Posey-Maddox et al. broadly discussed some benefits of the influx of middle-class parents into urban schools, mainly that they generally devote time and money to their children's schools, which can result in more advocacy and resources for securing improvements to facilities and academic and extracurricular activities. Posey-Maddox et al. find that the attention that middle-class families can bring to their schools can result in more middle-class families wanting to access these schools, which may result in enrollment competition depending on choice-enrollment options offered by the local school district. This increased demand could result in less access for low-income students, again, depending on the systemic access offered by the school district. Furthermore, some research documented families wanting to improve schools in order to send their kids there (Freidus, 2016), implying that their contribution or role within the school is to make it better. These dynamics may exacerbate the race and class tensions among low-income and marginalized parents in decision-making processes (Posey-Maddox et al., 2014).

Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) approached this body of literature thematically and found both positive and negative aspects associated with the presence of middle-class parents in urban schools. I will address each one of these themes separately.

Parent Preferences, Identities, and Values. In the body of literature reviewed by Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) that addressed middle-class parent choice, most parents were politically liberal or progressive and wanted to have their children in racially and socioeconomically diverse schools. Instead of moving to the suburbs when they had children, these parents chose to remain in their urban areas and have their children attend

local schools. Posey-Maddox et al. found that parents who chose urban schools "lamented the inequities inherent in the educational system, and saw it as both their right and obligation to utilize the urban public schools" (p. 448).

Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) also found that this group of parents valued diversity and wanted to expose their children to peers from different backgrounds. However, there is tension between what parents say they want, diversity, and their actual behaviors (Roda & Wells, 2013). I have a similar finding from my own dissertation research.

Role of Social Networks. The second theme in the body of literature that Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) discussed was "the role of social networks and marketing campaigns in building a 'critical mass'" (p. 449). The authors found that these studies addressed both how social networks served as sources for information and that these networks determined if these White middle-class families chose these urban schools. While we know that social networks are a factor in how families choose their schools (Holme, 2002), Posey-Maddox et al. found that the commitment of similarly resourced families was important for middle-class families because it provided them a sense of "safety and reassurance" about their decision to send their kids to an urban school (p. 449). The authors explained that in this body of literature, a common theme was parents joining forces with other parents, thus making the school decision a social one because parents want a "critical mass" of families like themselves (p. 449). My findings regarding the choice to send children to the local middle school connect to this literature. As documented, there is a group of Juniper and Butterfield families that are working to create a group to send their kids to the local middle school. It is possible that these efforts to bring back or entice the middle-class will contribute to the marginalization of low-

income families as the policy focus moves towards the middle-class families and away from the low-income community members.

Middle-Class Parent Involvement. The next theme Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) found in their literature review was the involvement of middle-class parents in urban public schools. They suggested that this body of literature showed this group of parents played an active role in their children's schools and were vocal advocates for both their children and their schools. Because middle-class parents can raise expectations and secure resources for the school, the involvement of this group of parents can lead to better outcomes and services for all students. For example, in my study, the Juniper school renovation was undertaken largely because a group of middle-class parents demanded it for their school. However, such parental influence can also exacerbate inequalities at the schools where this group of parents might promote policies or practices in favor of their children at the expense of others. For example, this group of parents could exclude low-income parents as fundraising efforts become more professional or if middle-class parents are in decision-making positions, such as in parent-teacher organizations. Posey-Maddox et al. described these investments as a "double-edge sword" because they can bring valuable improvements but also can have a social cost (p. 450). The authors also noted that as this group of parents raise the attractiveness of a local school option, they can also make the school more desirable and competitive, making access more difficult for low-income students.

Neighborhood and School Demographics. Lastly, Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) discussed how middle-class parents used their residential choices to their advantage in the urban education market (p. 451). While the authors found this body of research mostly in

European studies, they noted that middle-class parents can base their housing decisions on the desirability of the local school and therefore can displace the local community from their local school. This research is also connected to gentrification as middle-class families move into urban areas that were once less desirable and attend the local schools. An increase in socioeconomic profile does not necessarily mean that the neighborhood has gentrified, and further research could document how these changes affect school demographics and their relationship to other economic changes in the neighborhoods.

Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) outlined an agenda for future research in the area of middle-class engagement in urban schools. They argued that first we must have more understanding on the scope and size of middle-class family involvement in urban schools; for example, is this trend in only a few cities, or is it a larger trend across the country? Researchers need more macro-level data to determine the size of this trend to understand this shift. This research could also include how the presence of middle-class families in urban schools impacts the options available to low-income families. Research that documents the academic outcomes of schools with mixed populations could also help us understand if the presence of a middle-class in an urban school helps or hinders academic achievement for all students. Posey-Maddox et al. also stated that more information regarding the consequences of middle-class families in urban schools regarding the distribution of the resources they bring could also help us understand if these resources reflect the needs of the school more broadly, or if they address more specifically their own needs. The authors also mentioned the role of the school leader, the involvement of middle-class parents in school engagement and volunteerism, and the relationship

between school change and neighborhood change as important areas to help us understand the effects of the middle-class on urban schools.

Privileged Families Wanting to Change Their Neighborhood Schools

Freidus (2016) used messages posted to an email list from 2003 to 2013 to analyze parent choice regarding a local elementary school, PS 808, in Brooklyn. She analyzed the parents' discourse to understand how they interpreted the local school context and their choice of the neighborhood school. Freidus found that as these families worked to make the school "great," these privileged families saw themselves as the source of the school's value and in the process, marginalized the low-income families and also the families of color (p. 1). Freidus made several findings that I find extremely relevant to my own research, and I discuss them here.

In her research, Freidus (2016) found that diversity was celebrated, but the frequency of the word "evokes Leonardo and Hunter's (2007) argument that 'the urban' is frequently valued as a sophisticated space, cosmopolitan in the best sense of the word: 'supporting the "right amount" of ethnic and racial difference, but not too much'" (p. 781). Freidus wrote, "It seems that diversity was another type of cultural capital, something that advantaged families could simultaneously place value in and get value from" (p. 16).

Freidus (2016) also discussed the concept of parents getting value from their school as "an investment in your neighborhood" (p. 17). She described how parents used the email list intentionally to recruit other parents similar to them to join in the efforts to transform the school. In the messages, Freidus found several elements that showed how this critical mass of middle-class families was targeted—through organizing school tours

and information sessions and collaborating with the principal about reform goals for the school. She noted that this process caused tension between different parent organizations in the community.

Further research should explore parent dynamics, particularly in urban schools that have socioeconomically and racially diverse communities, to understand how parent groups function and whether they serve the interests of all groups of parents. Some of my participants spoke of these dynamics in their interviews, but these dynamics were not the main focus of this research.

Siegel-Hawley et al. (2017) provided an understanding of how school dynamics can shift with an influx of White, middle- and upper-class parents in an urban school. Their study focused on a midsized southern city undergoing demographic shifts and examined the demographic changes in the neighborhood, the influence of the participants' own experiences on what they wanted for their children's education, and the reaction of parents and community leaders to the racial diversity and reinvestment in their urban school and school system (p. 404). As Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) cited, research has linked this White, middle-class reinvestment to progressive ideology and social justice. These parents note diversity as an important component of their children's educational experience and prefer living an urban lifestyle. Relative to my own research, Siegel-Hawley et al. (2017) discussed the "pioneer mentality" as going against perpetuation theory, in which families who have attended homogenous schools seek something similar for their own children (p. 406). I mention it here because Filipe, one of the assistant principals interviewed for my study, mentioned the term "pioneer kids" in reference to the White, middle-class students at Butterfield. The authors also documented

the literature surrounding the worry of middle-class parents in urban schools, which can be connected to safety and their preference to take the experience one grade at a time, instead of committing to the feeder pattern of the urban elementary school (mainly the middle and high schools). My findings show that some White, middle-class families feel they can provide supplementation for their children at home for what the program lacks in academic rigor. One parent I interviewed spoke about teaching fractions at home if needed as a trade-off for bilingual education. While I would not argue that bilingual education is equated to a lack of rigor, I do think this parent's comment represents her middle-class mentality of making up for at home whatever she feels the school cannot provide.

Siegel-Hawley et al. (2017) used a case study to document the experiences of a parent task force in transforming a school into an International Baccalaureate (IB) program. While this article is not specific to TWI or DLE, I include it here as general documentation of the transformation of an urban school, as it has key takeaways relative to my own research (and the IB model has a language component). For one, Siegel-Hawley et al.'s study design is similar to mine, as it relies largely on interviews and primary documents as data sources, although their sample was only about half the size of mine.

Siegel-Hawley et al. (2017) discussed their findings in terms of three different themes. First, the authors found that their participants all discussed a desire to provide an educational experience for their children that was different from their own privileged experiences. The authors found that this commitment related to communally oriented principles and a sense of fostering social and racial justice, which they described as the

second theme that emerged from their study. Finally, Siegel-Hawley et al. also addressed the tensions between school leadership and the core group of advantaged families that wanted to reinvest in and reform this local urban school. This study adds to the body of literature that explores the motivations of White, middle-class urban parents, largely documented as socially progressive, in attending their neighborhood schools. The authors importantly noted that the tensions between this group of parents and school leaders was likely due to the lack of experience that these parents had navigating this particular educational space, as these families all came from privileged backgrounds and did not themselves attend urban schools.

Siegel-Hawley et al. (2017) stated the importance of more research documenting the perspectives of other stakeholders, such as teachers and school staff, in these communities. They also noted the importance of "policies that encourage more systemic societal integration for younger children—inclusionary zoning policies or voluntary school integration plans that reach across city-suburban lines…" (p. 429). Their research provided important findings that I also noted in my own research and in my own positionality as a researcher. For example, several of my participants, mainly English speakers, said they wanted DLE for their children because they did not know additional languages or attend a DLE program. Siegel-Hawley et al. provided a frame for me to better understand the experiences and perceptions of the English-speaking population in my own research.

Tensions in Mixed Demographic Dual Language Education Program

Chaparro's (2019) case study has similarities to my own dissertation research. In this qualitative ethnography, Chaparro documented the perspectives of both English-

speakers and Spanish-speakers in a newly minted TWI program in a Philadelphia public school. Chaparro's findings demonstrated that while the program was demographically mixed between these two populations, the contrasting demands of the groups created challenges for teachers and raised questions about what successful integration can look like. Chaparro began her study with the perspective of the kindergarten teacher, Ms. O, and the challenges she faced balancing the two groups of parents. Chaparro classified these two groups of parents as those who were involved and those who were not involved. These parents were also demographically different in that the involved parents were mostly the English-speaking parents who had the tools and resources to be involved, whereas the Spanish-speaking parents, who were working-class, did not have the same set of tools or level of involvement.

Chaparro (2019) documented the English-speaking parents who had started the TWI program (this year was the first of the program) and specifically highlighted Jane, a White bilingual woman who was a school psychologist. Jane was a particularly difficult parent for Ms. O in that she questioned the teacher's rules and procedures, went above her to speak with the principal about the curriculum, and generally took much of Ms. O's time and attention. Chaparro found that the teachers, including Ms. O, had the perception that the school principal catered more to the needs of the middle-class White families versus the low-income Latinx families. Chaparro noted the privilege of choice that the White, middle-class cohort of families had, particularly as they considered different school options for their children. Chaparro documented a finding from her interview with Jane, in which Jane referred to the level of work her son was already doing prior to entering school and after she and her husband had decided to remove their son from the

TWI program. Jane talked about her son's mental health being more important than academics at his age and said that she was not worried about his academic progress but that the school was not the "right fit" (p. 9). Chaparro found that leaving the program, and threatening leaving, mostly happened by the White, middle-class parents.

Chaparro (2019) noted that there was also an English-speaking working-class group of parents, including two African American and one White student. While Chaparro did not explicitly explore this demographic in this study, she noted that their experiences were different from their middle-class peers and that these families all experienced a "wavering" in whether they wanted to stay in the program (p. 10). Ms. O had conversations with these families to encourage them to stay. Chaparro wrote that it was more of a lack of education on behalf of the parents driving their indecision because the parents did not know the benefits of bilingualism or the design of the program. This finding is not unique to this study; other studies also document the experiences of African Americans in TWI programs (Palmer, 2010).

Chaparro (2019) documented the experiences of the Spanish-speakers, who were working-class Latinx immigrant families. Chaparro described the contrast found in the conversations with the White, middle-class parents in regard to their carefully thought out school decisions and the Latinx families who were in the bilingual program by chance. These families were already going to enroll in the school, and their enrollment coincided with the presence of the bilingual counselor or Ms. O in the office, who could tell them about the TWI program. Chaparro stated that the discourse about school choice seemed irrelevant for this population but that these parents made their school choice when they decided to emigrate to the United States for improved opportunities. Many of these

parents mentioned language maintenance as a reason for choosing the program, which is a similar finding to my own research.

Finally, Chaparro (2019) addressed the differences in these groups of families in regard to the TWI program being additive for the English-speaking families while it represented language maintenance and the avoidance of language loss for the Latinx immigrant families. Chaparro discussed the differences not only in the content of the interviews, but also in how they came about and where they took place, a finding that I also experienced in my research. She noted that these differences were not cultural but rather had to do with class, educational background, time availability, and the ease felt by the participants in navigating public and institutional spaces (p. 14). She argued that we need to further understand the different needs of families and children served by these TWI programs and the impact of those needs on teachers and schools. While Chaparro concluded that we must recognize the experiences of racism and discrimination that Latinx families and other minority groups have in their interactions with schools, I argue that we must go beyond recognition and aim to change the very system that enables this environment.

Conclusion

This body of literature was an important addition to this literature review because of the similarities in the environment and populations in my own research. The Posey-Maddox et al. (2014) article helped frame the body of literature and some of the themes within this line of study. Freidus (2016), Siegel-Hawley et al. (2017), and Chaparro (2019) provided different perspectives on the roles—both positive and negative—of middle-class parents in urban districts. As neighborhood demographics shift and more

young families opt to stay in their urban locations and attend neighborhood schools, it is important that we understand the benefits and detriments to the local school community so that we can ensure that the voices of the historically underserved populations are not further marginalized in this process.

Cautions Surrounding Dual Language Education

As demonstrated in the previous sections, dual language education has many merits. This educational model has the potential to raise achievement of Spanish-speaking students while maintaining and supporting their native language and teaching them English. Even though DLE is a well-documented best practice, some scholars caution educators and policymakers to be conscious of the impact of these programs on the language minority students and to consider their interests and needs as the primary factors. This section will expand on five scholarly articles (Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Freire et al., 2017; Palmer 2010; Valdes, 1997; Valdez et al., 2016) that provide a different angle on DLE programs. I chose these articles because together they illustrate different challenges of TWI programs, even if the programs stipulate equity or attempt to eliminate the achievement gap. In the first piece discussed, Valdes (1997) provided a "cautionary note" for educators as they create DLE programs to consider the needs of the language minority—in this case Mexican—population. In the second article, Palmer (2010) addressed the detriments of a common model, a "strand" program, and the exclusion of the African American population in this program. Using the case of North Carolina, Cervantes-Soon (2014) warned that the "uncritical" implementation of TWI can lead to a commodification of Latinx people's linguistic resources as these programs expand (p. 69). In their chapter, Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017) suggested a fourth goal for TWI

education, “a critical consciousness” achieved by “expanding politically oriented curriculum and instruction that originate in the very knowledges and ways that students from marginalized communities experience languages” (p. 418). Freire et al. (2017) addressed the policy documents and promotional materials of Utah’s State Education Office and the exclusion of Latinx interests from their TWI programs. Lastly, Valdez et al. (2016) discussed what they referred to as the “gentrification” of dual language, which inequitably distributes this resource as privileged students are targeted for these programs (p. 601). I address each article in turn below.

The Same Cautionary Note 20 Years Later

Valdes (1997) warned educators and scholars of the potential downfall of DLE, particularly for language-minority students. Even though this article is over 20 years old, Valdes’ arguments still apply to DLE today, particularly when considering DLE as a strategy for equity. I found this article cited in a variety of scholarly works, reinforcing its importance and significance (Palmer, 2010; Valdez et al., 2016). Valdes raised the issue of the quality of instruction in DLE programs. Part of the issue, she stated, was that there were two different kinds of educators in DLE programs: those who were concerned with the education of the language minority students (bilingual educators) and those who were interested in developing the second language of mainstream American students (foreign-language educators) (p. 395). Valdes stated that the presence of mainstream students in these language immersion programs provided the language minority students with “what appears to be the best of two worlds: access to instruction in their primary language, and access to both school and community support” (p. 395).

Valdes (1997) wanted to caution educators, school board administrators, district administrators, and practitioners in language planning and policy to keep in mind the language needs of the language minority students. DLE is not enough in and of itself; it must be high quality. This notion is challenging for educators with two different groups of students learning in the same language. For example, Anglophone children are presumably at a very different level of Spanish than are native speakers of Spanish, yet in a DL model, both groups of students are in the same classroom. Valdes argued that educators should ensure that "minority-language children are being exposed to the highest quality instruction possible in their native language" and that the teacher must be able to educate these different groups in one classroom (416). Valdes used an example of a Canadian French school that slowed down its French instruction to cater to an English-speaking majority. The idea of "dumbing down" instruction is valid but likely depends on the group demographics. For example, if the population is more evenly distributed (rather than consisting of a majority of English speakers), teachers might rely on native speakers to assist with language learners (for Spanish and English speakers). Educators should be aware of the language dynamics in their classrooms and make every effort to provide high quality language instruction for all students.

Valdes (1997) argued that DL gives Spanish a legitimacy for a group of students who are mostly "socioeconomically marginalized and often the target of racial or ethnic discrimination" (p. 413). She discussed intergroup relations and the importance of school personnel being "sensitive to the realities of the ways the children interact with one another and to the messages that they send to each other in numerous ways" (p. 417). There might be differences between the ways students interact inside and outside of

school. For example, while children may play together in a school setting, they may live in different neighbors and not interact with each other on the weekends or in activities. Valdes also mentioned the external structures we need to be aware of, such as the way language acquisition is discussed. Language learning should not be considered a "gift" for a NES but a detriment for an NSS.

Lastly, Valdes (1997) addressed the issue of language and power. The dynamic of language and power, particularly when DLE involves communities of mixed socio-economic levels, is still valid today. Valdes cited Freeman's (1996) study of the Oyster-Adams School in Washington, D.C., and the different ways the staff framed the program depending on the audience. To majority language parents, administrators in this case highlighted the program's "economic and security benefits to the community, not the benefits for native-Spanish speakers" (p. 419). Oyster-Adams School is still well regarded in the world of DLE, but being in the wealthy neighborhood of Woodley Park, it arguably caters to a population of upper-class families. Related to language and power is the ability of English speakers to speak Spanish. Valdes worried that if members of the majority population became bilingual, the special advantage of native speakers being bilingual would be lost (language moves from a resource to a problem orientation). This argument remains valid: language is never neutral, and we as educators must engage in discussions around these issues, particularly as DLE programs expand.

Strand Program as a Challenge to Dual Language Education and Equity

Palmer (2010) discussed the implications of a DL strand program. Palmer took a critical race perspective and considered the principal of "interest convergence" to examine the underlying tensions in this school community (p. 95). Interest convergence

argues that Whites will only allow changes that benefit their own self-interests, even if framed through an equity perspective. Strand programs are exclusive because they create a school within a school. Any program that does not extend to all students will create inequalities between students in that school. Palmer found that African American students were particularly left out of the DL education model, even if the school was in a majority Black and Latinx community. Even though Palmer acknowledged that TWI classrooms imply equity as a priority (p. 94), because of the goals of cross-cultural understanding and high academic achievement, Palmer questioned who benefitted from these programs. She argued that both the Latinx and Black students benefitted from the resources added to attract a White population and that the Latinx students benefitted from high caliber academic offerings. The "interest convergence" in this case was that the local community only benefitted because the White, middle-class community could access and attend the TWI program.

Palmer (2010) provided an alternative perspective on DLE programs that is not widely prevalent in the literature and cited the presence of African American children in these programs as controversial for several reasons. First, according to her, TWI programs are frequently discussed in "dichotomous terms, with generally white middle-class children as the 'English-dominant' students and Latino immigrant children as the 'Spanish-dominant students'" (Palmer, 2010, p. 95-96). Second, Palmer explained dialectal issues may be a reason that African American children are under-represented in TWI programs. Palmer stated that some researchers have shown African American students as underserved in these programs because their specific cultural, linguistic, and academic needs are not met. Palmer argued that TWI programs aiming for high academic

achievement and cross-cultural awareness should include African American students but that perhaps institutional complexities and some educators' ideologies might be barriers for their entry to these programs. She argued that a well-designed program that supports multilingualism could address dialect differences.

The TWI program Palmer (2010) studied may have benefitted Spanish-speaking students more than the previous transitional bilingual education model, but instead of 20 spaces for Latinx students in the transitional program, there were only 10 in the TWI program because the other 10 spots went to the English-speaking students. Palmer addressed the concept of converting the whole school to a TWI program to include all Latinx students (and shorten the waiting list for English-speaking families), but she concluded that "support is not nearly as strong…" (p. 108). This idea was evident in the ideologies and attitudes of the teachers. Some teachers assumed that TWI was not appropriate for African American children and that because the school was in a predominantly African American neighborhood, it would send the message that the school was not for the African American population. Palmer addressed this assumption that Black students would not be interested in DLE through the color-blind racism framework, noting that these assumptions on the part of the teachers are "cultural racism" and "abstract liberalism" (p. 108). These two concepts indicate that Whites focus on cultural differences between them and Blacks (as opposed to racial differences) and that Whites exclude Blacks from participating (as with the TWI programs) but use the concept of equity as a justification.

Palmer's (2010) theoretical framework of critical race theory coupled with the specific principles of interest convergence and color-blind racism provide a much-needed

perspective on the exclusion of African American students from TWI programs. This piece of literature is relevant and striking for two specific reasons. First, it connects to my own experience of teaching in a DLE strand program in a local public school. These programs are frequently mentioned as a "school within a school" model and hold similar racial implications and discrimination as Palmer mentioned in her study. This model and its implications, however, are not frequently addressed in the literature. Palmer's article provides an interesting angle to the literature on DLE, particularly when thinking about the expansion of DLE programs and equity. In my research, an African American participant at Butterfield expressed frustration that her voice was not represented in the school. At Juniper, the African American population is leaving to attend different local schools as Juniper shifts to a whole school DLE model. Further research should seek to document African American parents' perceptions of DLE, their reasons for pursuing (or not pursuing) this model, and the barriers they face for entry into these programs.

Privileging the Position of English Speakers

Cervantes-Soon (2014) examined literature around TWI, arguing that as "neoliberal trends" continue to shape communities of Latin@ diaspora, the uncritical implementation of TWI could be detrimental to this population (I use the @ here as Cervantes-Soon does in her article as a gender-neutral way to include both Latino and Latina students). Cervantes-Soon argued that TWI has the potential to increase Latin@ empowerment, specifically in places where schools and districts are starting to implement TWI education because of the growing Latin@ population.

Cervantes-Soon (2014) demonstrated how Latin@s have shifted the U.S. landscape in places with previously limited interactions with this population. For

example, the Latin@ population in the south increased by 57% between 2000 and 2010, which is four times the total population growth (Cervantes-Soon, 2014, p. 65). According to Cervantes-Soon, most this population is of Mexican origin, but a portion is from Central American countries or has migrated from within the United States. She stated that the passing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 forced a generally poorer population to migrate. According to her, this trend, coupled with changes in the U.S. South (such as industrialization), led to the Latin@ population's involvement in industries that previously employed poor White and Black populations. These current Latin@ populations are much more permanent in the United States, which has led to Latin@ children in public schools in typically homogenous communities.

Despite the well-established benefits of TWI education for both majority and minority speakers, Cervantes-Soon (2014) addressed the power dynamics in the literature that privileges the position of English speakers. Cervantes-Soon cited Valdes' (1997) argument that TWI may give an advantage to an already advantaged group while commodifying Latin@s' linguistic resources. Cervantes-Soon acknowledged that English usually remains the language of status and that English speakers might maintain a higher status because of their parents' social and cultural capital compared to their Latin@ peers (p. 68).

Cervantes-Soon (2014) used the example of North Carolina's TWI programs to examine the "new Latin@ diaspora" in this context (p. 64). She stated that the state's TWI programs did not stem from a desire to achieve educational equity for language minority students but rather from a state initiative to expand foreign language education for native English speakers. As the Latin@ population grew, some progressive educators

saw this change as an opportunity to address the needs of the Latin@ population. Despite longitudinal studies of this population by Thomas and Collier that showed increased academic achievement compared to other groups of students, Cervantes-Soon questioned the gaps that remained between some subgroups, specifically low socioeconomic and special education populations. She also argued that an examination of power dynamics could offer insight as to these differences in achievement. Cervantes-Soon wanted educators to be cautious of the "latent potential for subtractive and silencing outcomes for Latin@ children" (p. 70).

According to Cervantes-Soon (2014), in North Carolina, TWI was housed under World Language Education (WLE) and disconnected from ESL, even though ESL was the only program that advocated for language-minority speakers. Cervantes-Soon demonstrated that by establishing TWI programs as totally separate from language minority services, the issues of social justice, equity, and language identity could be dismissed easily. Unfortunately, at least one district administrator used the cost-savings argument that TWI eliminates the need for ESL, even though ESL instructors should have a role in TWI education (Cervantes-Soon, 2014).

Cervantes-Soon (2014) argued that TWI must move from a neoliberal project to a social justice orientation (p. 76) and requires a shift in direction to do so. She posited that WLE must collaborate with the local ESL educators and the Latin@ population to work towards goals for the language minority population. She suggested these communities must engage the Latin@ population and recognize their knowledge and experiences in the TWI curriculum. She called on TWI educators to look beyond language and incorporate a critical orientation to these programs.

While Cervantes-Soon (2014) addressed the power dynamics in TWI educators and the need to disrupt the current language focus to include a critical orientation, she also stated that children from the dominant group missed out on a chance to develop an understanding through a critical orientation. While I agree with this statement, I also think it noteworthy because she, too, recognized that she must call on this majority group to support the interests of the Latin@ population, although interest convergence suggests that supporting the interests of the Latin@ population might not align with those of the language majority. This notion aligns with the concept of "interest convergence," which is a theme in this strand of literature. As TWI programs expand across the geographic area of this study, it is imperative that educators and policymakers consider the critical aspects that Cervantes-Soon highlighted in her work. Cervantes-Soon provides me the space to think critically about TWI program implementation and how it affects the language minority population

Freire et al. (2017) addressed Utah's dual language discourse and the exclusion of Latinx interests from the state's policies and promotional materials. Utah is touted as a state that has successfully promoted and implemented DLE programs, although these authors questioned whose interests these programs serve. Utah enacted policies that would expand DLE by 2015 to 30,000 students (Freire et al., 2017, p 276), which was a sharp departure from the English-only legislation in 2000. Because Latinx people represented 13% of the state population of Utah, the authors questioned how the DL legislation represented this population's interests. They sought to understand how equitable state policy was towards Latins interests and how Latinx people were portrayed in the Utah State Office of Education's DL promotional materials. These authors, like

Palmer (2010), used a critical race lens with the specific concept of interest convergence to theorize how Spanish speakers were treated within a "context of White racial privilege and the dominance of English" (Freire et al., 2017, p. 277).

In their examination of legislative documents and promotional materials, Freire et al. (2017) found that Utah's policy on DL program implementation hindered the interests of Latinx people. Utah Senate Bills 41 and 80 do not recognize one-way bilingual models that would serve members of a maintenance/language recovery population (as is the case for many Spanish-speakers). Utah's legal framework only permits one-way models as foreign-language models, not for native speakers of a language other than English. Furthermore, the state restricts the type of program (50:50 versus 90:10) that it considers DL, which impacts the funding mechanisms for these programs (90:10 models do not receive state funds). Freire et al. mentioned two specific 90:10 Spanish-English elementary schools in Latinx communities that were not considered immersion schools and therefore did not receive state funding. This type of discrimination directly affects the Latinx population.

Freire et al. (2017) also noted that teachers in DL programs were not required to have credentials that support DLE. For example, it was only "highly-recommended" that they have an ESL endorsement, but a Spanish DL teacher must have had a "world language endorsement in the immersion language and a dual language immersion endorsement" (p. 283). An English teacher would be considered qualified with simply an "elementary Utah teaching license" (p.). These differences in credentials imply that the second language acquisition for native English speakers was prioritized over the English acquisition of the ELL population. Credentials also may create disparities, particularly if

there is limited access to them either because they are financially difficult to achieve or linguistically difficult because they require a fluency in English for native speakers of Spanish (as has been the case in the focal district).

Freire et al. (2017) also found that DL program promotional materials placed Latinx interests behind English speakers' interests. For example, all languages other than English were referred to as "second language," as opposed to recognizing that Spanish might be the first language of some students. The authors described how the different populations were represented physically in the promotional materials, noting that the Spanish and Chinese speakers were the most exoticized. For example, the Spanish-speakers were dressed up in ceremonial outfits, as opposed to the French materials that showed students in a classroom in regular clothing. Freire et al. argued that these depictions demonstrate an "otherness" to which the programs give access (p. 284).

Lastly, Freire et al. (2017) found that the positionality of Spanish compared to other languages pushed hierarchically lower than other languages. For example, no materials were available in Spanish (p. 285) to serve or promote the program to Spanish-speaking and heritage learners. The brochures did not mention two-way programs, even though the two-way programs were all Spanish-English programs. Additionally, there was no mention of the heritage group of Spanish-speakers, which was the second-largest population in Utah at the time.

Valdez et al. (2016) used a critical language policy lens and a mixed method approach to examine which groups of students benefitted from Utah's "mainstreaming" of DLE (p. 604). They argued that this "mainstreaming" of DLE serves as gentrification, which is an influx of privileged students into neighborhoods where less privileged

families are being pushed out. Valdez et al. posited that dual language programs could be going down a path of inequitably distributed resources, similar to STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) programs, that further privilege already privileged groups.

Valdez et al. (2016) used critical discourse analysis to study five of Utah's policy documents and organized their findings into three major patterns that emerged in their research. They argued that there was problematic treatment of equity in general (p. 611), a strong discourse surrounding globalized human capital (versus equity and heritage) reasons for dual language, and an elevation of multilingualism and local multilingual communities that ran counter to English hegemony (p. 611).

Valdez et al. (2016) discussed the DL trends in Utah to demonstrate the demographic inequities that have occurred due to the expansion of DL programs in Utah over different periods of time. First, in the pre-state model (19782005), they argued that DL in Utah did operate under an equity framework because most of the programs were in high-poverty schools and had higher EL and non-White populations. Then, during the "transition" period (2006–2008),they showed the amount of TWI programs versus one-way immersion programs flipped and the state opened more one-way immersion programs. Then, during the state-model period (2009–2014), they illustrated the state saw another shift in one-way immersion programs, including the addition of Chinese and French in schools that were affluent and mostly White (p. 618). Overall, the authors showed one-way programs made up 82% of the new DL programs during Utah's state-model period, which demonstrates the mainstreaming of DL. Using quantitative methods, (two-sample independent t-test), the authors examined White racial privilege, wealth, and

English privilege to understand the location of the different types of DL programs. Valdez et al. found that the DL programs in the state-model were located in schools with more White racial privilege compared to the pre-state DL programs, indicating the expansion of DL to more English privileged and wealthy populations.

Valdez et al. (2016) concluded that Utah's DL policy was "shaped by hegemonic discourses that center on and target mainly white, wealthy, English-privileged students as the beneficiaries of these programs while silencing other beneficiaries" (p. 620). They argued that the pre-state use of equity effects from dual language were largely silenced in favor of allowing an already privileged population the ability to acquire even more capital. The authors worried that DLE would become the next enrichment tracking, similar to other programs that benefit the already privileged, while the marginalized population would continue to be in compensatory programs, such as ESL and other remedial classes (p. 621).

Valdez et al. (2016) did not argue privileged students should not have access to DLE programs, but rather they argued the shift in Utah's discourse around DLE has come at the expense of equity effects of DLE as a heritage/equity program versus the global, human capital framework. The authors argued that a more balanced dual framework of DLE as both an equity and human capital framework could offer a common ground for these programs to serve both populations. They made five recommendations for policymakers: (a) to develop an explicit plan to address the power differentials in these programs, both in recruitment and in program implementation; (b) to include geographic locations that will draw across various populations; (c) to ensure marginalized groups have special opportunities to have programs as language recovery/preservation; (d) to

change one-way programs from only for English-privileged to also consider developmental bilingual programs for speakers of non-English languages; and (e) to reconceptualize the way that these programs are talked about and marketed (p. 622).

Conclusion

Valdes (1997), Palmer (2010), Cervantes-Soon (2014), Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017), Freire et al. (2017), and Valdez et al. (2016) added critical views of DLE programs not commonly addressed in the literature. Even though Valdes's (1997) article is over 20 years old, it still holds important value as TWI programs gain popularity and are implemented as ways to close the achievement gap (this article was also cited in multiple articles reviewed in this section). Palmer's article added the perspective of African American students, often excluded in the literature, to discussion about implementation of TWI programs. Her article allowed me to reflect on my own experience in a strand DL program that consisted only of Latinx students (more traditionally viewed as a one-way model, although we called the program DL immersion). I realize in retrospect that the interests of African American students were largely ignored in my school and that they were not represented at all in the TWI program. I added the last article, Valdez et al. (2016), because of the parallels I saw between my own research and this study. While the methodology used in the two studies is different, I see signs of gentrification in dual language in our metropolitan area that threaten equitable access and the very foundation on which DL was established, which was as a program for Spanish-speakers to maintain their heritage language while acquiring English.

This section of my literature review allowed me to reflect on the potential pitfalls of DLE and TWI programs while also thinking about my own experiences as a DLE Spanish teacher and as a novice researcher. These critical perspectives are crucial to the analysis of local DLE programs, particularly as neighborhoods gentrify and DLE programs become more popular among English speakers. My dissertation research contributes to this significant body of literature, particularly as I add the perspectives of multiple stakeholders and investigate how perceptions merge and diverge between parents, administrators, and district personnel.

Summary of Findings

In this section, I examined multiple bodies of literature that are connected to the broader concepts of DLE and school choice. Within these broader fields, I examined definitions, goals, and outcomes of DLE along with the connections to SEL. My review explored the reasons that parents choose DLE as well as the broader notion of school choice, lottery systems, and middle-class parents who choose urban schools.

My review of the literature demonstrates that 90:10 programs are likely more effective in creating bilingual students, but more studies need to compare models with similar populations to effectively gauge their relative merits and differences. While DLE programs aim to create bilingual and biliterate citizens, discussion of socio-cultural competence was not as present in the literature as I would have expected. Furthermore, some DLE programs lean towards the economic benefits of bilingualism, ignoring socio-cultural competence completely. To assess student outcomes, most of the literature relies on standardized tests in English and only a handful of states require or encourage native language assessment. Within the literature, most bilingual outcomes compare bilingual

students to monolingual English-speaking students or offer the test results of bilingual students on state assessments. Comparing bilingual students to monolingual norms implies the view that bilinguals are "two monolinguals in one" and does not lend itself to accurate comparisons. Accurate assessment of bilingual students in the target language remains an area for development and further research.

While some of the studies documenting DLE outcomes employ rigorous methodology and data collection strategies, others seem to use weak data to justify a dual-language program. In these cases, it is difficult to assess the actual impact of the model or this type of instruction on student achievement. Unfortunately, it seems this assessment data is a result of definitions in certain contexts, such as defining 53% correct as "proficient" in Texas. This standard is clearly low, and one must consider that when reviewing this type of study. The standard of attaining the 50th percentile for "typical" achievement of English speakers is also a low bar for proficiency (Thomas & Collier, 1997, p. 10). As demonstrated through the survey of DLE practices across the United States, the different measures, standards, and practices make comparisons between programs difficult.

There is no doubt that DLE is beneficial, but weak outcomes, low standards, and poor teacher preparation could negatively impact the implementation of such programs in areas where policymakers are already hesitant to allow DLE. Political context no doubt plays a role in DLE, as noted by several authors who want to prove the value of this model in a contentious political environment (de Jong, 2002; Greene, 1997; Rolstad, et al., 2005.). We must consider the political climate when examining language policies and practices in schools. Throughout the United States, these different climates help or hinder

the accessibility of TWI programs for all students but can be particularly detrimental for ELs. This context also relates to the concept of equity as states and counties create goals to target greater equity for vulnerable populations. While the studies reviewed here discussed this concept in DLE, specifically from the perspective of administrators, this notion remains a large area of focus for engaging more low-income Latinx families in DLE.

Families have a plethora of reasons for enrolling their children in a TWI program, and they may expect the school to play a certain role in their child's language acquisition, whether it is supporting their heritage language or developing their English skills (or both). These reasons relate to parents' personal experiences and educational levels, socio-economic status, and family heritage, among others. Some families expect school support, while other families believe it is the role of the school to teach their students the majority language.

The language orientation, or viewing language-as-resource, language-as-problem, or language-as-right, also influences the program's success. While my review demonstrates and reinforces the conclusion that DLE is a best practice for EL students, it is not a panacea. Districts and schools should consider the model, their population, and the best academic environment for the students. Simply having a TWI program does not mean that students receive the best education. Many components of this model, including parent and district opinion on the purposes and goals of such programs, will help determine each program's success. The specific model must fit the needs of the population, and if the teachers are not well prepared, the program will not be successful.

The body of literature on school choice, including the use of a lottery mechanism, and the increasing presence of middle-class families in urban schools help frame my findings and the field to which my research contributes. As districts move quickly to implement TWI programs due to demand from English-speaking parents, we must keep Valdes' (1997) "cautionary note" in mind. The success of these programs largely depends on the goals of the educators, the will of the administrators to implement them, the political climate, and the dynamics between the multiple populations in the school. The parents in the studies reviewed wanted their children to be bilingual, whether they found it to be their personal mission or that of the larger educational context. I remain concerned that bilingualism is still largely a class issue: an asset for middle-class children but a deficit to overcome for poor Latinx children.

Areas for further research include more understanding of parent perspectives to understand how parents are using (or not using) the mechanisms available to them to enroll in these programs; parent perspectives on programmatic shifts, such as a strand model to a whole school model; and how district interests and perspectives align or misalign with the perceptions and expectations of the communities they aim to serve. While there has been some research on the concept of equity within DLE through investigations of the perspectives of administrators and teachers (Fernandez, 2016; Sugarman, 2012), I did not find literature that addresses this issue from the parent's perspective, specifically coupled with the district perspectives and policies. I hope my study can fill these gaps through exploring the local context and how programs can help our most vulnerable students succeed.

Chapter 3: Methods

In the previous two chapters, I demonstrated that my research topic is timely and worthy of investigation. We need more research into the mechanisms for parental access to two-way immersion programs and parental reasons for choosing this educational model, particularly for vulnerable families who are traditionally marginalized by the education system. While there is a base of literature that investigates why parents might enroll in these programs, we do not know how these reasons align with district policies, administrator perspectives, or issues of educational equity regarding access to TWI programs. For this study, I implemented a qualitative approach, specifically a multiple-case design, due to the scope of my study and my research questions. I hope my dissertation provides useful information to local policymakers and educators regarding how these programs can target the populations that would benefit from the TWI model.

Organization

This section describes the methods I employed for my study. First, I present my personal connection to the research, followed by my role as a researcher. Next, I share my research questions and research design, followed by a description of the research setting and site selection process. I will then discuss my approach to data collection and analysis. I conclude this chapter with a summary of why I chose this particular method and how I ensured its reliability and accuracy in depicting the phenomenon I sought to understand.

Personal Connection to Research

Throughout college, I planned to teach in Latin America after graduation, but I never aspired to be a long-term educator. As part of my coursework as a senior in high

school, I took a course called “Exploración Cultural” and worked in a bilingual first grade classroom in Framingham, Massachusetts. While I had previously traveled and used my Spanish in “real life” settings, I remember how it felt to communicate and explain math content, for example, in my second language. I loved the ability my language skills provided me to work with this group of students and be part of their educational experience. I was fortunate to go back to the same classroom the following year, now with second graders, over January break during my first year of college. At that point, the political climate regarding bilingual education in Massachusetts (in the year 2000, prior to the passage of the Question 2 legislation) was tense, and Ms. P., my supervising teacher, explained to me that the school would close at the end of the academic year. Our students would go to a “sheltered instruction” program. I did not understand what that meant, but I recall thinking it was a negative development compared to the TWI model these students had received at this school.

Despite this critical experience, I did not major in, or study, education in college. I studied Spanish, went abroad to Spain, and graduated with a double major in Spanish and economics. As mentioned, I aspired to teach in Latin America after college and considered various programs for which I would pay to have a teaching experience. My Latin American studies professor told me to “think bigger” and connected me to an organization that was recruiting recent graduates to teach in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico—part of the United States but with a very different culture and landscape—presented a Spanish-speaking setting and a bona fide job opportunity. I would be employed by the Puerto Rican Departamento de Educación in a “real” job. I had never visited Puerto Rico before, but I applied, presented a mini lesson in New York City, and was accepted. Three

weeks after my college graduation, I moved to the *isla del encanto*, the island of enchantment, as a 21-year-old college graduate to teach in a public school.

I could describe, at length, my time in Puerto Rico, but instead I will just describe the first of the two years I spent there. I was a ninth grade Title I Spanish teacher in a small town in the south of the island. Because I was a Spanish major, I had Spanish credits, and that was how I understood their decision to place me as a Spanish teacher (¡la gringa dando español!). I adored my students. The dropout rate for ninth graders was 53%, and I felt a sense of purpose working with the "make it or break it" pressure for these students. My co-teacher was counting her years until retirement and was an avid practitioner of *educación bancaria*, or the banking model of education, in which teachers impart knowledge into passive learners, which added an additional level of challenge. I left Puerto Rico frustrated that these students, by virtue of where they lived, would never receive the high-quality education they deserved. I returned to the United States, moved to Northern California, and spent a year working in women's healthcare while applying to graduate school programs. I pursued my economics interest and received a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy at the Fletcher School at Tufts University. A couple of years into an intelligence analyst position in the focal city, I was disillusioned and frustrated. My husband encouraged me to return to the classroom. I taught the Spanish side of a dual language program at a public school in the focal district. I loved the community and my students but left to pursue an opportunity for growth as an instructional coach at a bilingual public charter school in the focal district. At this point, I had been accepted to the Aspiring Principals Program with New Leaders, but for family reasons, I decided to return to school to gain a formal understanding of dual language education and a

foundation that would allow me to move forward in the field at a more senior or district level. As a doctoral student, I have been fortunate to explore the theoretical and empirical work on bilingual education and find my specific areas of interest. I have also discovered an interest in teaching at the college level, which I hope to continue beyond my graduation. My personal and professional experiences have certainly shaped who I am and who I aspire to be as an educational researcher.

My Position as a Researcher

I am a White native-English speaker in my thirties. My Spanish language abilities and my experiences in both Puerto Rico and local dual language public schools help me connect to the parents and communities I aim to document. I believe wholeheartedly in two-way immersion education as a best practice and feel passionately that this option should exist for all students but most importantly for those who are traditionally marginalized in the public education system. I believe this is a linguistic right for these learners; for the rest of us, it is a privilege. My own daughters are enrolled in a private international school that enables them to cultivate bilingualism. My privilege as a native-English speaker with access to "elite bilingualism" indicates that I am an outsider to the communities that I research. I no longer live in the district of this study, nor do my children attend public school. Throughout this study, I acknowledged and "checked" my privilege because my perspective and experiences are different from those of my participants. I constantly asked myself: "What do I take for granted as part of a privileged group? What assumptions do I make about schools and feeder patterns?" I reflected on these questions in all stages of this research, from the initial inception, to the execution of interviews, through the data analysis, and to my conclusions.

Even though I consider myself an outsider in many ways, I am a former dual-language teacher at one of the schools of this study, Juniper. When I returned, unannounced, to Juniper, I connected with the mother of a former student; I had a special bond with this mother, as I had previously offered free afterschool tutoring to her son. I immediately recalled what I loved so much about the community and why I felt so comfortable there. When I returned to interview Amaya and there was a scheduling error, I stayed to participate as a judge in the English spelling bee. In this context, I was able to connect with former colleagues and get a feel for the current culture at Juniper. My willingness to "go with the flow" and help out in this context allowed me to connect with the community and the school administration.

Research Questions

Overarching

1. How do parents choose to enroll in the DLE program at Butterfield and Juniper Elementary schools and how does their enrollment process exacerbate/relieve inequities in access to DLE in this focal district?

Single-Case

1. How do parents at Butterfield/Juniper make decisions about their child's enrollment in that school? What are the factors that influence this decision?
2. How does the school administrator at Butterfield/Juniper perceive parent access to the school's DLE program in terms of the lottery system and neighborhood access?
3. How do perceptions of access and choice vary between the parents in the school and the administrator?

4. How do district personnel in the offices relevant to DL programs perceive and articulate parent access to these programs and the role of equity in parent access?

Cross-Case

1. What are the similarities and differences among parents of dual language education students in how they understand, access, and enroll in the DLE program in each of the schools?
2. How do the factors that influence their enrollment vary between these two different parent populations at Butterfield and Juniper?
3. What are the similarities and differences in the way the school administrators perceive parent access to their programs and explain parent choice?
4. How do the perceptions of district personnel vary from the administrators and parents in terms of access to DLE?

Research Design

Qualitative, Multi-Case Design

A qualitative case study is the most appropriate method for my study based on my research questions. As Thomas (2016) wrote, "with a great deal of intricate study of one case, looking at your subject from many and varied angles, you can get closer to the 'why' and the 'how'" (p. 4). I want to understand and document *how* and *why* parents enroll in two-way immersion programs, *how* the school administrator and district officials explain access to these programs, and *how* parents understand access to these programs. Yin (2014) explained a case study's purpose is to "understand a real-world case and assume that such an understanding is likely to involve important contextual conditions pertinent to your case" (p. 16). Unlike an experimental design, a case study design

allowed me to understand the connections between the context, in this case the county and the school, and the phenomenon, parent access to TWI programs.

Yin (2014) acknowledged that "the decision to undertake multiple-case studies cannot be taken lightly" (p. 57) due to the resources and time required to document each case. Multiple-case studies, according to Yin, also are considered more compelling because they involve more evidence and therefore are more robust (p. 57). Because my research documents the experiences of parents and school administrators at two schools, as well as central office personnel, I used a multiple-case design with embedded units of analysis. My context is the school district, the cases are the specific schools within the district, and the embedded units of analysis are the specific parent populations and the administrators. My design is represented in Figure 2, which shows Yin's type 4 case study design. While either one of my settings could serve as a single-case study, I wanted to examine multiple sites to enhance my understanding of these school communities and to understand the similarities and differences between them.

Yin (2014) argued that replication in a multiple-case study design is similar to replication in a multiple experiment study in that the cases should either predict similar results (a literal replication) or contrasting results for anticipatable reasons (a theoretical replication). In my study, I relied on Yin's "Multiple-Case Study Procedure," as seen in Figure 3. Yin provided modest advice regarding selecting a study design and posited that multiple-case study designs may be preferred over single-cases (p. 63). I selected two embedded units of analysis (two elementary schools with DLE programs). I hope that my results will "represent a strong start toward theoretical replication" and strengthen my findings, as Yin stated (p. 64).

Figure 2

Yin's (2014) Basic Types of Design for Case Studies

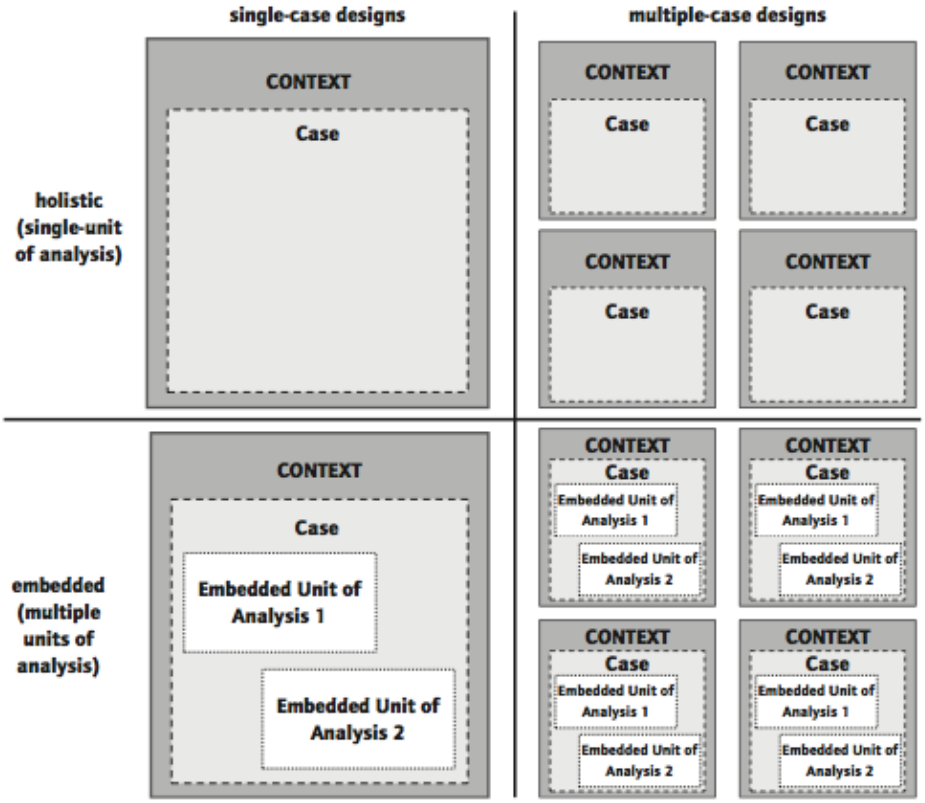
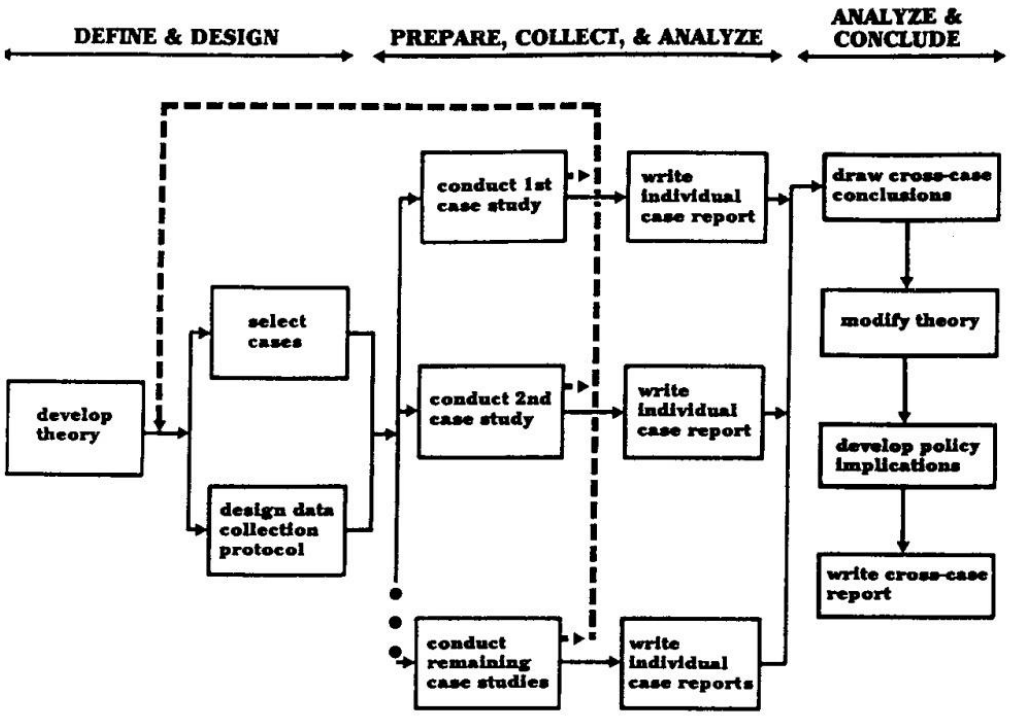


Figure 2.4 Basic Types of Designs for Case Studies
SOURCE: COSMOS Corporation.

Note. From *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, by R. K. Yin, 2014, Sage Publications. Copyright 2014 by Sage Publications. In the public domain.

Figure 3

Yin's (2014) Multiple Case Study Procedure



Note. From *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, by R. K. Yin, 2014, Sage Publications. Copyright 2014 by Sage Publications. In the public domain.

Case study research can be complicated to define but has several key characteristics. It is descriptive because it is centered on a particular situation and "investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the 'case') in depth within the real-world context," but the boundaries between this case and context may not be clear (Yin, 2016, p. 15). In this research, I provide the reader with a deep understanding of the cases through my descriptions of the local contexts and the specific schools and through my interviews with key stakeholders, including parents, school administrators, and district

officials. While my participation in local and school events was not formally stipulated in my methods, these events and opportunities contributed to my understanding of the local context and communities that I document here.

While case study is an appropriate method for my study, it is not without faults. One of the weaknesses of case studies in general, which Compton-Lilly (2007) posited, is that different contexts have different challenges and research questions. A strength, though, is that this method can help the researcher understand not only the shared themes but also the uniqueness of each site (p. 97). This statement was particularly important as I examined two different schools within the local context, as they are each their own unique site and have specific circumstances and differences that contribute to their own identities.

Research Settings and Site Selection

My site selection for this research was based on my personal and professional network connections to district personnel. I started this process anticipating how ideal it would be to do research in the local, public dual language school where I taught, at Juniper, a dual language strand program in transition to a whole school model. A friend and former colleague of mine sent an email on my behalf to four dual language schools, including Juniper. One replied no, two assistant principals replied with interest, and one replied yes (but did not follow-through). I attended a multilingual education fair in January to meet school leaders and follow up on interest for my research. After connecting with one of Juniper's administrators in person at this event, she responded that she would be interested in my work. After various follow-up efforts, school visits, and emails, she agreed to participate in my research. My other site, Butterfield, was

secured as a result of the email that my former colleague sent. One of the administrators at Butterfield was also a PhD candidate at the University of Maryland, and therefore related to the challenges of participant recruitment. He agreed to be interviewed and connected me to the parent liaison at Butterfield, who provided me contact information for several parents, specifically Spanish speakers, for this research. I asked my participants if they knew any other parents who they thought might be willing to participate. This strategy resulted in several additional participants in some cases, but not all.

Both school sites are in the Santurce (a pseudonym) neighborhood of the focal city, but in different areas. They have similar demographics, with Butterfield being 76% Latinx and Juniper 78% Latinx. The schools both serve grades PK3—fifth grade and feed into the same middle school, which offers a DLE strand program (District Demographics, 2019). Please see Table 7 for demographic data.

Butterfield Elementary School

In the late 1990s, the EB population was "exploding" at Butterfield, but there were only five ESL teachers and one transitional bilingual kindergarten program at the school (Garcia & Williams, 2015, p. 23). Administrators noted disparities between the DLL and non-DLL students and segregation in the transitional bilingual classroom and that the DLL students were retained more often than non-DLL students (Garcia & Williams, 2015, p. 23). The mission of the school leader at the time was to see "Latino and African American students learning two languages together" (Garcia & Williams, 2015, p. 23).

Table 7

Focal School Demographics, 2017–2019

Demographic Data	Butterfield	Juniper
	2017–2018	
Latinx	74%	74%
Black	14%	12%
White	8%	11%
Other race/ethnicity	4%	3%
Total enrollment	451	535
Neighborhood	Santurce	Santurce
EL	63%	59%
Economically disadvantaged	100%	100%
In-boundary	45%	52%
	2018–2019	
Latinx	76%	78%
Black	14%	12%
White	7%	7%
Other race/ethnicity	2%	4%
Total enrollment	473	548
Neighborhood	Santurce	Santurce
EL	59%	60%
Economically disadvantaged	100%	100%
In-boundary	45%	52%

Note. Data from district website. Source left off to maintain confidentiality.

During the 2007-2010 chancellor's time in charge of the focal district's public schools, she closed 23 public schools (Garcia & Williams, 2015, p. 23). In this process, Butterfield absorbed students from under-enrolled schools and relocated into a different

elementary school in a predominantly African American community. With this transition, Butterfield became “Butterfield @ [location]” and had a strand model bilingual program (Garcia & Williams, 2015, p. 23). It was a difficult transition because the school was in an African American community with no prior connection to bilingual education. Butterfield tried to maintain a strand program but found that the two communities were often at odds over who got more resources. The school attempted to remedy these differences by creating stronger alignment across programs, but ultimately, the school transitioned to a whole-school DLE model in the 2014–2015 school year. When their leader of 15 years left in 2015, the current principal took her place. The current principal had worked in various capacities at the school since 1997 and was familiar with the community (Garcia & Williams, 2015, p. 23).

Currently, the school operates as a 50:50 model with “A” and “B” days so that students receive a full day’s instruction in both languages (personal interview, 2019). As one parent told me, standard practice in the school is “we don’t translate and we don’t repeat.” The teachers collaborate across content to align instruction. For example, the school uses Readers/Writers Workshop, a curriculum designed by Lucy Calkins. The students might read the same book in Spanish and English, but the teachers target different learning objectives in each language. As the students get older, the upper grades become more departmentalized. As Assistant Principal Filipe explained to me,

> It works a little different for third through fifth; those are departmentalized grades. Every day they get math, bilingual math, so it's either Spanish or English for the day. Spanish literacy and English literacy in science, and then sciences in English in third grade, and in Spanish in fourth and fifth, and that's due to

> staffing, which is what we can staff. Specials also fluctuate; right now they're all in English; that's not always the case; that's always a staffing thing, but we try to keep 50:50 as much as possible.

Juniper Elementary School

The dual language program started at Juniper Elementary in 2005 (Garcia & Williams, 2015 p. 22). Juniper's former principal, who I will call Elsa Pérez, is known for turning Juniper around. When she started as principal in the 2009–2010 school year, Juniper had low test scores, student enrollment was falling, and there was some discussion of it being closed (Garcia & Williams, 2015 p. 22). Juniper was one of the schools with the highest EL population in the district. Under Pérez's leadership, school enrollment went up to 446 students in 2015 (the year she left) from 310 in 2012. That same year, proficiency rates increased by 15 points in math and 23 points in literacy (Garcia & Williams, 2015, p. 23). In 2013, Juniper was awarded second place in a Spanish Embassy competition for the best bilingual school in the United States. In 2014, Ms. Pérez was the district's Principal of the Year (Garcia & Williams, 2015, p. 23). At the end of the 2014–2015 school year, Ms. Pérez decided to leave the school for personal reasons and moved abroad. The leader who replaced her is an African American woman who does not speak Spanish. Amaya, an assistant principal, referenced that this was a tough transition for the Juniper community after having such a powerful school leader. One of my participants, who was on the principal's hiring committee, told me it was difficult to hire someone for the position without Spanish, but he explained,

> And something about the way it happened was essentially that the timing was late in the year, so we knew that we were going to basically sort of have like one shot

> to hire someone that was gonna be it—And basically, we were given a set of choices for possible principal candidates. We all sort of knew talking to each other, "Okay, well, we think we know; we have the best candidate who comes off this panel. If we don't hire someone out of this panel, basically the school will start the next year with whoever they put in that job or no one at all. So at least we should suggest that they pick the best person off this panel," but we knew that we were going to recommend—a principal who likely was never going to speak Spanish really at all.

Juniper started with a strand DLE program but has started to phase out the English only (EO) program due to low enrollment. Currently, the school offers an EO strand in fourth and fifth grades, which will phase out in the 2020–2021 school year (personal interview, 2019). Prior to last year, Juniper operated largely as two separate programs, the DLE and the EO. In this model, all grades had separate programs. Juniper now departmentalizes its classes in the upper grades, so there is not such a distinction in the programs. For example, the homerooms are mixed, so students in the DL program and the EO program have homeroom together, but they have math separately (math is taught in Spanish in the DL program). The shift to a whole school model happened "naturally," in that families stopped enrolling in the EO program. With this change, many of the school's African American families have stopped enrolling and chose another elementary school in the neighborhood (interview, 2019). The PK3 and PK4 programs are mostly English-focused, which is due to staffing. These grades currently only have English-speaking teachers with Spanish-speaking aides who provide instruction in Spanish for a portion of the day (personal interview, 2019).

Data Collection and Instruments

This section describes my data collection procedure and the instruments used in this study. Initially, to focus my study, I intended to interview only parents with kindergarten students. In reality, I included any parents willing to speak with me, which resulted in a wider demographic (including PK3, PK4, and some older grades, such as first, third, and fourth). As kindergarten is the first mandatory year of schooling, I thought it would result in some new families joining the school. However, most parents started their children at the schools prior to kindergarten; therefore, kindergarten was not a point of entry for the families included in this study. Some families did have later points of entry when they moved to the neighborhood at a different grade, which I note in my Findings section. Many of my participants, particularly at Juniper, enrolled their children via lottery for PK3 and PK4. Please see Appendices A–J for the specific data instruments used and for a summary of my data collection timeline.

Informed Consent

As with any study seeking approval from an Institutional Review Board (IRB), my study required informed consent from my participants. My written consent form and the verbal consent agreement were both approved by the University of Maryland IRB. The local district's Data and Strategy Team also reviewed my consent form, which I supplied to participants in both Spanish and English, depending on each participant's language preference.

Initially, all of my participants signed a consent form prior to participating in my research. In the cases in which I conducted a phone interview, participants were emailed the consent form and asked to return it prior to the interview or at the conclusion of the

interview. After the majority of my data collection was complete, I amended my IRB application to request verbal consent for participation, as I was targeting parents via a snowball method and did not want to hinder or limit participation to those with access to technology for consent. This consent amendment was granted and limited to only a few participants.

Interviews

Interviews provided me with the most in-depth and detailed views for my research. Please refer to Appendices A–C for the interview protocols I used. I planned to interview five to 10 parents per site, as well as one school administrator per site (either the principal or assistant principal, for example). I interviewed five parents at Butterfield and the assistant principal. At Juniper, I interviewed 16 parents, including two parents who had children in the EO program. I also interviewed both of the assistant principals at Juniper. Because this study is qualitative in nature, I used a snowball method to connect with other parents and gain their perspectives for my study. In addition to the school interviews, I interviewed district officials who had a specific role in the dual language education programs and policies. The demographics of the parent participants are provided in Chapter 4 of this study.

While all data collection tools have their pros and cons, the interviews were the key method I used to collect parent and administrator perspectives on access to DLE programs. Interviews were the most intimate of the research methods I used and provided me with individual perspectives from parents, administrators, and district officials on the issues at hand.

Interviews are susceptible to flaws, either based on the specific questions I asked or based on social desirability bias. I triangulated the data and gained an accurate depiction of parents', administrators', and district officials' views on access to TWI programs. For example, conducting two interviews with district personnel allowed me to follow up with them about my findings from parents and administrators to understand if the district personnel viewed findings in a similar way. After input on my initial interview questions, I changed the tone to sound more conversational. I tried to use these questions to understand my participants' experiences and asked about benefits and challenges to the programs and the schools in order to achieve a more balanced perspective.

Data Management

This cross-case study and the specific instruments I used provided me with ample data for analysis. In this section, I outline the procedures I used to organize my data in preparation for data analysis. First, I gave each research site its own folder, both physically and electronically (on my computer and on Google Drive). The electronic folders were password protected, and the physical documents were kept in my file cabinet. My electronic folders were organized by site and data collection tool (memos, interviews, consent forms, transcripts, and audio files). All hard copies, such as the informed consent forms, were scanned and filed on my computer, and the originals were kept in a secure location. I chose not to take notes during my interviews if the participants agreed to be audio-recorded (all but three were recorded). In the cases in which the participant declined to be recorded, I took notes during the interview. Due to the amount of data I collected and the number of interviews I conducted and, I decided to have the

interviews professionally transcribed. I used GoTranscript for the Spanish or bilingual interviews and Rev.com for English transcription services. Using these services allowed me to spend more time coding and analyzing the data. I reviewed the transcripts upon completion, especially any places with strange or faulty language to make sure the transcription was accurate. Then, I uploaded the transcripts to Dedoose in three separate projects: Butterfield parents, Juniper parents, and School/District personnel. This distinction allowed me to first examine my findings as separate cases.

Data Analysis

My data analysis process involved multiple stages. First, I kept running memos during the data collection process in a Google Drive document to capture the context of the interviews, initial thoughts about topics or ideas that came up, and some of the challenges of qualitative research. At the conclusion of each interview, I uploaded the interview audio file to my computer and sent it to one of the aforementioned transcription services. As a novice researcher, I aimed to heed Bogdan and Biklen's (2016) advice about "full-fledged, ongoing analysis and interpretation" which should be left for more experienced researchers (p. 150). They argued that establishing rapport and being acquainted in the field is enough of a challenge for a new researcher without trying to do analysis and interpretation at the same time. Once I uploaded the transcripts to Dedoose, I did initial, open coding of them to target questions or issues I wanted to expand on or learn more about in remaining interviews. Tables 8, 9, and 10 summarize my research questions, as well as the data tools and the data analysis processes I used.

Table 8

Overarching Research Questions, Data Tools, and Data Analysis Processes

Research questions	Data collection tools	Data analysis processes
How do parents choose to enroll in the DLE program at Butterfield and Juniper Elementary schools and how does their enrollment process exacerbate/relieve inequities in access to DLE in this focal district?	Interviews with parents Interviews with administrators Interviews with district personnel	Multi-level analysis

Table 9

Single-Case Research Questions, Data Collection Tools, and Data Analysis Processes

Research questions	Data collection tools	Data analysis processes
How do parents at Butterfield/Juniper make decisions about their child's enrollment in that school? What are the factors that influence this decision?	Interviews with parents	Single-case analysis Memos Transcription of interviews Multi-level analysis with coding[a]
How does the school administrator at Butterfield/Juniper perceive parent access to the school's DLE program in terms of the lottery system and neighborhood access?	Interviews with administrators	Single-case analysis Memos Transcription of interviews Multi-level analysis with coding
How do perceptions of access and choice vary between the parents in the school and the administrator?	Interviews with parents Interviews with administrators	Inductive coding Code for organizational categories Create parent/child codes for thematic reasons
How do district personnel in the offices relevant to DL programs perceive and articulate parent access to these programs and the role of equity in parent access?	Interviews with district personnel	Multi-level analysis Analytical memo In vivo coding Pattern Coding
How do parents at Butterfield/Juniper make decisions about their child's enrollment in that school? What are the factors that influence this decision?	Interviews with parents	Single-case analysis Memos Transcription of interviews Multi-level analysis with coding[a]

[a] Multi-level analysis with coding refers to the four rounds of coding completed during this data analysis process.

Table 10

Cross-Case Research Questions, Data Collection Tools, and Data Analysis Processes

Research questions	Data collection tools	Data analysis processes
What are the similarities and differences among parents of dual language education students in how they understand, access, and enroll in the DLE program in each of the schools?	Interviews with parents	Multi-level and cross-case analysis
How do the factors that influence their enrollment vary between these two different parent populations Butterfield and Juniper?	Interviews with parents	Cross-case analysis
What are the similarities and differences in the way the school administrators perceive parent access to their programs and explain parent choice?	Interviews with parents Interviews with administrators and district personnel	Cross-case analysis
How do the perceptions of district personnel vary from the administrators and parents in terms of access to DLE	Interviews with parents Interviews with administrators Interviews with district personnel	Multi-level analysis

Memos

As I gathered and collected data, I kept a journal of memos and stream of consciousness thoughts around the data collection and analysis process. This strategy helped me organize ideas, questions, and initial take-aways as they came to me. These memos also contributed to my understanding of the data collection process. For example, when I first went to interview the assistant principal at Juniper, she had a calendar mishap, so I ended up being a judge for the English spelling bee instead. This situation helped me realize that qualitative data collection can be messy and does not always go as planned. This process also allowed me to gather my intuitive thoughts and reactions while these moments and events were fresh in my mind. I did not use my memos as a

data point but rather as background information as I went through both the data collection process and the data analysis.

Coding

Saldaña (2016) wrote of the process of "pragmatic eclecticism," or staying open during initial data collection "before determining which coding method(s)—if any—will be most appropriate and most likely to yield a substantive analysis" (p.70). For this study, I used four rounds of coding. For my first cycle of coding, I used open, or inductive, coding in an attempt to gather new insights (Maxwell, 2013, p. 107) and to identify themes across the data. This method is also a "constant comparative method" (Thomas, 2016, p. 204) in which researchers identify concepts, themes, and the relationships between the concepts and themes. I coded the data in three separate "projects" on Dedoose: one for the Juniper parents, one for Butterfield parents, and one for administrators and central office personnel. This first round of coding, which involved highlighting important data, resulted in "temporary constructs" (Thomas, 2016, p. 205).

My second round of coding targeted three types of codes: in vivo, pattern, and values. In this round, I used in vivo coding for quotations that allowed me to capture the perspectives of my participants and "prioritize and honor" the participant's voice (Saldaña, 2016, p. 107). I used pattern coding to determine similarities and differences among participants. Patterns help us understand and confirm people's descriptions of "five Rs: routines, rituals, rules, roles, and relationship" (Saldaña, 2016 p.6). It is important to note that pattern coding does not necessarily include what is similar in the data, but it can include differences, causations, frequencies, sequence, and correspondence (things happening in relation to other events) (Saldaña, 2016, p. 7). For

example, using pattern coding, I noticed a difference in who cited diversity as a reason for their school choice and who did not. (I will address this finding in detail in Chapter 5.) Values coding was also important in my coding process because I wanted to understand why people chose the schools they did. Because values are "principles, moral codes, and situational norms people live by" (Daiute, 2014, p. 69), this form of coding was particularly useful when thinking about the reasons that parents want their children to be in a dual language program or attend a certain school. Values coding also allowed me to examine the priorities and work of the school administrators and central office personnel as they discussed equitable access to dual language programs. Table 11 offers examples of the different codes identified in this section.

Table 11

Examples of Coding Types

Code Type	Description	Example
In vivo	Capturing the participant's voice through their exact language	"Because for me, supposedly the school, all the kids received a bilingual education, but it wasn't like that."
Pattern	Looking at similarities and differences and noticing frequencies and anomalies, not only across the participants but also within the participant's own language	How parents understand their role in choice How administrators explain choice
Value	Principles or moral codes	Cultural identity Economic opportunities Views on language Concepts of what is "fair"

After I analyzed my data using these two initial coding methods, I returned to pattern coding to group my data into a smaller set of categories and themes (parent and child codes). I examined my organizational categories and "pull[ed] together a lot of material from first cycle coding into more meaningful and parsimonious units of analysis" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 236). For example, "reasons for choice" was a parent code with other codes such as "identity," "middle school," and "personal experience" as child codes. Thomas (2016) refers to these ideas as "second-order constructs" (p. 206), which helped me understand the important themes and eliminate the temporary constructs that were not reinforced in the data.

Finally, as I identified themes within my coding scheme, I categorized them under my theoretical framework. For example, "diversity," "neighborhood school," and "grassroots efforts" all fit under my interest convergence frame. I identified eight themes, including four related to my theoretical framework (orientations of language, interest convergence, critical consciousness, and equity) and four that emerged organically (gentrification, middle school, choice and access, and communication and access). Please see Appendix K for codes.

Single Case

As Yin (2014) stated, a cross-case study involves single-case studies. While data collection at all sites was concurrent, I looked at each school as its own case before the stage of cross-case comparison and analysis. This process was difficult in that it was hard not to make comparisons between schools and parents during the data collection. Organizing my findings helped me address one case at a time before cross-case analysis. I separately analyzed the data from each specific site using the coding process I

previously outlined before I turned to the cross-case analysis. The memos and memo notes in Dedoose were helpful in making these distinctions because they provided a form to use as I tracked questions and potential themes from the cross-case analysis.

Cross-Case

After I analyzed the data from my embedded case studies, I looked at the cross-case comparison research questions to understand the programmatic differences across the groups of participants. These questions address the similarities and differences among the different populations involved in this study, including both administrators and groups of parents at the respective schools as well as the relevant district personnel.

These research questions allowed me to examine the similarities and differences across the different contexts and groups of parents, with the caveat that this data refers to a very specific group and subset population. The comparison of administrator and district official perspectives on access to DLE and issues of equity with the parent perspective provided information on how these messages of access change from the district level to the administrator level and then to the parent.

Standards of Quality for Case Study Research

According to Yin (2018), I can judge the quality of my research design according to certain logical tests, including construct validity; the identification of "correct" measures for the concepts studied; internal and external validity; and reliability, a demonstration that the procedures, such as data collection, could be repeated with the same results (p. 42). While these criteria are important for assessing the quality of my study, I want to ensure that I focus on criteria that are relevant to qualitative research more broadly and not focused on a positivist research paradigm.

Tracey's (2010) "Big Tent" Indicators

Tracey's (2010) "Big Tent" indicators for quality qualitative research provided eight criteria to follow for excellent qualitative research. Table 12 outlines these criteria and how I applied them to my study. Tracey (2010) discussed the challenges of judging the quality of qualitative research, particularly in a climate that has focused on quantitative numbers-based findings as scientifically valid (p. 838).

Table 12

Application of Tracey's (2010) "Big Tent" Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research

Criteria	Definition	Application to study	Method to confirm
Worthy topic	Relevant, timely, significant, and interesting topic	Equity is a key priority for the district Latinx students fall behind in graduation rates Unclear if the lottery system is an equitable mechanism to access DLE Challenges the idea that the lottery is a "fair" way to access DLE programs	Interviews Parents Administrators Relevant district personnel
Rich rigor	Uses sufficient and complex theoretical constructs, samples, contexts, time in field, data collection, and analysis process	Various data sources Different contexts including two different schools and district-level personnel Rich description to place the reader in the context of the case	Pilot interview to practice interview questions Following timetable of data analysis plan
Sincerity	Characterized by self-reflexivity about subjective values, biases, inclinations of research, and transparency	Write openly about my "strengths and shortcomings" (p. 842)	Position as a Researcher statement "Checking" privilege Acknowledging my background and that of my participants Openness to participant perspectives Memos that allow for self-reflection

Table 12 (continued)

Credibility	Thick description, concrete detail, triangulation, member reflections, and trustworthiness	Looking not only at what *is* said, but what is *not* said and who is *not* present Multivocality through various voices including parents, administrators, and district personnel	Using Spanish to communicate with participants Spending time in the field Member reflections Use of multiple data sources and theoretical frameworks leads to crystallization
Resonance	Research influences or affects readers through evocative representation, transferable findings, and naturalistic generalizations	Qualitative report intertwined with content; affects the reader	Member reflections Sharing with district personnel and applicable parties
Ethical	Is ethically sound considering procedural ethics (such as human subjects), situational and culturally specific ethics, relation ethics, and exiting ethics	Consideration of contextual circumstances and voices and experiences of participants Approval of IRB	Follows protocols for IRB and district approval processes
Meaningful coherence	Uses methods that fit stated goals; connects literature, research questions, findings, and interpretations	Use of various frameworks, data sources, and design to weave together a connected study	Member reflections to ensure I have accurately captured the participants' voices and perspectives

Note. The information in columns 1 and 2 is adapted from *Qualitative quality: Eight "Big Tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research,* by S. Tracey, 2010, Qualitative Inquiry.

Validity

Yin (2018) discussed internal and external validity as indicators of the quality of a case study. Maxwell (2013) wrote that validity "depends on the relationship of your conclusions to reality, and no methods can completely assure that you've captured this" (p. 121). Furthermore, Maxwell posited that evidence helps establish validity, not the methods. Yin argued that internal validity is "mainly a concern for explanatory case studies, when an investigator is trying to explain how and why event *x* lead to event *y*" (p. 45).

It is important to understand that by definition, case studies do not aim to provide generalizable findings because they are highly individual and specific. Yin (2018) referred to the concept of external validity, not in terms of generalizability statistically-speaking, but rather "analytical generalizations" (p. 46) that come from the *how* and *why* questions a case study seeks to answer. Because my research questions include how parents understand access to a specific educational model and choice, I looked to the concept of external validity for an understanding of how my theoretical framework and questions might have implications for new situations.

Researcher Bias

One of the threats to my conclusions is researcher bias, defined as using data that fit my existing thoughts or that call out to me specifically (Maxwell, 2013, p. 124). In an effort to address any possible researcher bias, I must explain what my biases are and how I dealt with them in my study. I listened actively when parents shared their perspectives and reasons for choosing the DLE model, acknowledging that in some cases, the families might not have had an active "choice" because the model exists in their neighborhood school. I also remained open to the varying perceptions of a DLE model versus a monolingual model, even if I did not agree with the rationale. I carefully reflected on my own school decision process for my daughters to understand if I had any further underlying assumptions that may have influenced my views as a researcher.

Reactivity

I actively used open-ended interview questions with my participants as to not influence their answers. I think this practice was particularly important in interviews because the way in which I asked the questions could influence how the participant

responded to me. My goals were to make all participants comfortable and to listen to their experiences. I conducted a pilot interview with a current Juniper mother (who is also the mother of a former student of mine), which allowed me the opportunity to gauge my interview questions and make sure they allowed for honest answers and open dialogue.

Trustworthiness

To aim for trustworthiness in my study, I sought to collect various perspectives on access to DLE so I could accurately understand how the process works and how different stakeholders view access.

Conclusion

While there is a plethora of research that examines parents' reasons for choosing DLE education, research considering how these reasons align with parents' access to these programs, or their perception of access to these programs, does not exist. There is also a gap in research when it comes to comparing or including district or school administrator perspectives to understand how the various players view the same phenomenon. As our classrooms become more diverse and TWI programs expand, it is important to understand who is accessing these programs, why, and how answers to these questions align with the district mechanisms in place for access to these programs. I sought to answer these questions and provide insight via a case study, which was the most appropriate method for my research questions. A comparative case study allowed me to examine two separate cases and conduct a cross-comparison. This method was particularly insightful and interesting given the different approaches the focal schools have towards TWI education programs. While each site could be a single case study in itself, the cross-comparison provides for a more nuanced approach to TWI education in

these respective contexts. I hope this study will provide important and relevant information for educators and policymakers who want to make TWI programs not only accessible to those students who would benefit from such a model but also accessible to more students in general.

Chapter 4: Findings

In this chapter, I report my findings on how different stakeholders (parents, school administrators, and central office personnel) understand access to dual language programs within this district's school system. For parents, this question includes how and why they chose the focal schools and what they see as the strengths and challenges of the school's DLE program. For the school administrators, this question includes how they understand parental access to their programs and the mechanisms in place for families to attend their schools. For central office personnel, this question includes their perceptions of parent access to DLE programs and how their work aligns with equitable access to DLE programs. This chapter is first divided into the specific cases: Juniper Elementary School, Butterfield Elementary School, and the central office. I then offer cross-case comparisons of the findings between the two schools. Lastly, I include the data that answers my overarching research question that examines how the mechanisms in place either exacerbate or relieve inequities in connection to DLE programs.

Juniper Bilingual Elementary School

Single-Case Research Question #1: How Do Parents at Juniper Make Decisions About Their Child's Enrollment in Their School? What Are the Factors That Influence This Decision?

At Juniper Elementary School, I interviewed 16 parents, two in the English-only program and the remaining 14 in the dual language program. Please see Table 13 for participant information. I will address each participant in turn and discuss how they accessed the program, their reasons for choosing the program, and their feedback on their experiences as related to my interview and research questions.

Table 13

Parent Participants at Juniper Elementary School

Parent	Home language	Number of children	Grades[a]	Grade entered	Entry mechanism	Program model	Reference code[b]
Rose	English	1	4th	3rd	Neighborhood	EO	NES, EO
Beatriz	Spanish	2	4th, baby	K, then 3rd	Lottery	EO	NSS, EO
Laura	Spanish	2	5th, 11th	PK3 for both	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	DL	NSS, DL
Marcela	Spanish	2	1st, 4th	2nd, PK4	Neighborhood; lottery	DL	NSS, DL
Cecilia	Spanish	3	1st, 3rd, 8th	2nd (oldest), PK3	Neighborhood; lottery	DL	NSS, DL
Consuelo	Spanish	2	1st, 6th	2nd (oldest), PK3	Neighborhood; lottery	EO, then DL	NSS, DL
Elsa	Spanish	3	K, 1st, 8th	3rd (oldest), PK3	Neighborhood; lottery	DL	NSS, DL
Janice	English	3	1st, 3rd, baby	PK3 and PK4	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	DL	NES, DL
Lyla	English	2	K, 1st	PK3	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	DL	NES, DL
Henry and Lilian	English	3	PK3, 1st, 2nd	PK3	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	DL	NES, DL
Mila and Carl	English/ Italian	1	PK3	PK3	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	DL	NES; NIL[c], DL
Ryan and Dolores	Spanish/ English	2	K, 4th	PK3	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	DL	NES; NSS, DL
Emily	Tigrigna/ Amharic	3	1st, 4th, baby	PK3	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	DL	NTS[d], DL

[a] Refers to grade for the 2019-2020 school year.

[b] I use this code as an identifier for the participant in Chapter 5.

[c] Native Italian Speaker

[d] Native Tigrigna Speaker

Juniper Parents with No Access to the Dual Language Program.

Rose. Rose was a college professor in math education at a local university. At the time of this study, her daughter was in third grade at Juniper (she is in fourth grade now). Juniper was their neighborhood school, and for reasons not related to this study; her daughter had just started there in her third-grade year. Because Juniper was her school of right, she had neighborhood access, meaning her daughter could enter Juniper at any time. Her daughter did not speak Spanish and did not enter the DL program. She entered the English-only strand, which was phasing out with her class. This program will terminate when her class completes fifth grade, and at that time, Juniper will follow a whole school dual language education model.

Rose and her family lived two blocks from Juniper, and Rose liked that they had different teachers for different subjects. The homeroom was mixed, for example, so her daughter's homeroom teacher spoke Spanish and conducted most of the homeroom logistics in Spanish. Of their decision to switch to Juniper, she said,

> I've always been a proponent of attending the neighborhood schools. Except it wasn't Montessori, so that's a whole other competing factor. It being the neighborhood school, just feeling more involved in the neighborhood itself was a factor. My husband could walk her to and from work so I'd have more time to work, which was a factor, as well.

She talked about the school's renovations, the fact that she heard good things about the school, and her opinion that the former principal was well regarded. She said, "We figured that Juniper had such a great reputation, and the upper grades are pretty strong, and she has some friends there." I asked her what her middle school would be, and she

said it would be Hobbs. She explained, “Because we live on [name of street]—it’s so funny how she squeaks in, for some of these things.” Rose mentioned that she also wanted to apply to a local charter school for middle school but that she did not know much about the charter, just that she heard good things and her daughter had a few friends there, too. She also mentioned that she might apply to a public performing arts school for her daughter.

Rose did want her daughter to do the DL program at Juniper, but she knew she was starting late (in third grade). She told me,

> And I don't know if it's stuff that I'd heard, but I know a few friends and I were trying so hard to find a way for our children to be in the dual language track because we felt like this is such an amazing opportunity…and so, I just completely forgot about it and ended up worried about the million other things that I think about every day. And so, it's interesting that this didn't even come up when we first started talking. The amount of people I talked to in [the focal district’s] central office, and I tried calling so many people about, can I at least see a copy of the test. I was just curious. Would a summer immersion for two weeks be enough for her to pass the test? How much would she have to take to pass the test? This is a very short, very—we were just only thinking about this for a while.

Rose did not end up putting her daughter in a language camp and said that her daughter was happy at Juniper. She said that the model for the year of this study, which was departmentalized, highlighted fewer differences between programs, such as with the mixed homerooms, for example. She did speak of the transition to whole school DL and

said, “I like that they're going to full dual language. I think it's good for all those children in the neighborhood.”

Beatriz. Beatriz immigrated to the United States from El Salvador four years before this study when her son was four years old. He did not speak any English, but she was told that he was school age and could start school (he started at Juniper in kindergarten). When she participated in the school lottery initially, Juniper was first on their list, followed by a French language public charter school (PCS) and a Spanish language PCS. She did not live in Juniper’s neighborhood and did not know anything about the school, but her son was matched there in the kindergarten English-only classroom. She was very happy with Juniper and the teachers. Even though they were happy with Juniper and her son was thriving, they left Juniper after kindergarten due to the 40-minute commute each way. Her son then attended the Spanish DL PCS that had been on her initial lottery list. He went there for first and second grades before she decided to go back to Juniper. She said that those two years were lost and that her son did not learn anything at that school. She told me,

> Con mi esposo decidimos mudarnos lo más cerca de Juniper para volver a empezar este año escolar y gracias a Dios encontramos un lugar cercano de la escuela y aquí estamos viviendo y cuando nosotros volvimos aplicar en Juniper y él clasificó para entrar este año escolar. [With my husband we decided to move as close to Juniper so that we could return to start the school year there and thank God we found a place close to the school. And here we are living and when we returned to apply to Juniper, he got in this school year.]

She expressed that Spanish was not the only important language because they live in a place where her son needs to know English too. “No solo el español es importante, ya que estamos en un país que no es nuestro, el niño tiene que aprender el primer idioma acá, que es inglés. [It’s not only Spanish that is important but as we are now in a country that isn’t ours, he needs to learn the first language here, which is English.]”

I asked her if she had the option to enroll her son in the dual language program, and she said,

> Sí, tuvimos la opción de bilingüe, pero sentíamos que cuando lo cambiamos este año era muy tarde y solo pudimos aplicar a la opción de inglés, él quedó en inglés, al final resultó que él estaba siempre en bilingüe porque es el programa de la escuela, pero sí, él está más enfocado en las clases de inglés porque el español él lo puede perfectamente. Así que no tenemos problemas con el español, pero todo el refuerzo que él está recibiendo sí es en inglés. [Yes, we had the option of bilingual, but we felt that when we changed him this year it was very late and we could only apply to the English option. He got into English but it results that he was always in bilingual because it is the program of the school. But yes, he is more focused in the English classes because he can do Spanish perfectly. We don’t have problems with Spanish, but all of the reinforcement he is receiving is in English.]

I asked her if there were things that she would change about Juniper, and she mentioned one aspect about the school’s calendar. She gave the example that one day she brought her son to school, only to learn that it was not a school day. She was told at the school that she had to go on to the district’s website to download the school calendar. She

mentioned that there was another parent at the school that day, and it made her feel better that she was not the only one who was there, but she questioned why she could not receive a calendar from the school so she would know what days the school was closed:

> Ni sabía yo que el calendario de los días festivos tenía que buscarlo yo en internet. Pensé que ellos lo daban y el profesor me dijo, "No, tiene que meterse a [nombre de sitio de web], algo así, para ver los calendarios de los días festivos, los días que la escuela que va a estar cerrada". Ese pequeño detalle que no me gustó, porque realmente ellos deberían de dar hojas actualizando. Eso fue al principio y me encontré que tenía que buscarlo en internet eso y sí me costó un poquito, pero ya me acostumbré, al día de hoy, ya estoy pendiente de las fechas que no van a haber clases y los días festivos. Ese fue el único detalle que no es la gran cosa, pero me da risa. Yo llevé a mi niño ese día a clase y no había y nos quedamos." ¿Qué pasó? Que no hubo clase, que está cerrado". No tuvimos una nota a casa. Cuando yo pregunté fue eso y Míster Goméz me explico que uno tenía que estar pendiente de la página de internet, pero no es de [la escuela]. No solo yo, nos encontramos con otra madre también que vi. Ese día que fui a dejar a mi hijo que no tenía clase, me encontré con otra madre también, ya me sentí que no era la única. No sé si habrán llegado más, pero solo ese fue el inconveniente. [I didn't know that the calendar of holidays I had to find on the internet. I thought that they gave it to us, and the teacher, Mr. Goméz, said no, you have to go to [name of website], something like that, to see the calendar of the holidays, the days that the school will be closed. This little detail I didn't like, because really, they should give you an actual paper. This was at the beginning and I found that I had to look on the

> internet, and this took me a bit, but now I'm used to it. Now, I'm aware of the days there aren't class and the holidays. That was the only detail, and it's not a big thing, but it made me laugh. I brought my son to school that day and there wasn't [class] and we were like, "What happened. There's no school, it's closed." We didn't receive any information sent home. When I asked about this, Mr. Goméz told me I had to look on the website, but not [the school's]. It wasn't just me; I ran into another mom. That day I went to take my son, I ran into another mom and I felt I wasn't the only one. I don't know if more [parents] arrived, but this was the only inconvenience.

When I asked her about middle school, she mentioned a local charter school. Beatriz said that this local charter appealed to her because a neighbor told her about it, and it was close to where they live. When I asked about Rosewood, the feeder middle school for Juniper, she said, "No hemos escuchado de ella. Para ser sincera no hemos escuchado de esa escuela. [We haven't heard of that school. To be honest/sincere, we haven't heard of that school.]" She told me that she would appreciate any information I could send her about Rosewood so that would have the option to consider that one, too.

I asked her about her experience with the lottery, and she said she found it frustrating:

> Fue frustrante para serle sincera, porque no tenía yo idea cómo funcionan las cosas aquí y me preguntaba que era lotería para empezar, en el sentido escolar, cómo pueden tener una lotería en las escuelas, porque yo vengo acostumbrada que uno, en mi país, va a la escuela que uno ha pensado, lleva el acta de nacimiento del niño y ve si hay cupo. Es como algo tradicional en mi país, que uno tiene que

> tomarse el tiempo para llegar a esa escuela y ver si hay cupo, llevar el acta de nacimiento y matricularlo. Aquí es diferente, aquí uno tiene que inscribir al niño en la lotería, en varias escuelas y esperar la oportunidad en que el niño va a quedar seleccionado. Eso es lo frustrante porque realmente uno como padre quisiera solo tener una escuela para el niño, por ejemplo, en mi pensar que solo Juniper fuera la escuela, que mi hijo aplicará, pero es frustrante estar esperando si queda o no queda y si la otra escuela que aplicamos va a ser buena o va a haber niños groseros, todo eso como padre uno lo piensa. [It was frustrating to be honest because I had no idea how things worked here. I asked myself, "what is the lottery" to start, how can they have a lottery in schools, because I come used to, in my country, one goes to the school that one has in mind, you bring the birth certificate and see if there is a space. It's like something traditional in my country, you have to take the time to go to the school to see if there is a spot, bring the birth certificate, and enroll. Here it is different, here you have to put your kid in the lottery, in various schools, wait for the opportunity for your kid to be picked. This is the frustrating piece because really, as a parent, I just want one school for my son. For example, my thinking was that Juniper was this school, that my son will apply, but it's frustrating to wait and see if he did or did not get in, if the other school we applied to is going to be good, or are there rude kids, all of this as a parent, one thinks about.]

She explained that she needed to get used to the lottery. She said, "Este es un sistema que tiene aquí Estados Unidos y uno tiene que acostumbrarse lamentablemente, no da otra opción para sentirse uno seguro. [This is a system that the United States has and

unfortunately, one has to get used to it. There is no other option to feel more secure.]" I asked her why she had to use the lottery if Juniper was her neighborhood school, and she said, "Nos dijeron que si teníamos que solicitar por lotería. [They told us that we had to apply via the lottery]."

I felt a bit unclear about what her options for enrollment had been during the year the study took place, so I asked her more about the model. She replied:

> Sí, tiene home en español y nosotros solo vimos para tercer grado la aplicación de entrar en inglés, para él, no sé por qué. Estábamos al principio con mi esposo, "Bueno no importa ya sabe inglés, va a perder un poco las raíces en el español de hablar, pero en casa vamos a trabajar", y con tal que quedará en Juniper estábamos satisfechos, pero nos dimos la sorpresa de que no era así como nosotros habíamos pensado. [Yes, he has homeroom in Spanish and for third grade we only saw the application to apply for English for him. I don't know why. At first, my husband and I were like, "Well, it doesn't matter, he knows English, he's going to lose a little of his verbal Spanish roots, but we will work on it at home." And with getting Juniper, we were content, but we were surprised that it wasn't like we imagined it would be.]

Juniper Parents with Access to the Dual Language Program.

Laura. I have known Laura since 2010 when I was her son's second grade teacher. At the time of this study, Laura had a daughter in fourth grade in the bilingual program at Juniper, and her older son, my former student, was in high school at a local charter school. Laura liked Juniper because it was bilingual and close to her house. She found out about the school because her sister's children went there. She explained she learned about the three-year-old (pre-kindergarten) program from her sister, who she said told her, "'Ve a preguntar si es cierto'. Fue así que me di cuenta, y sí era verdad, fíjese, empezaba a los tres años. ['Go and ask if it is true.' It was like this that I learned, that yes, look at that, it was true, they start at age 3.]"

She also had Ms. Pacheco (the school secretary) help her participate in the lottery. She applied for both of her children through the lottery, and they both started at Juniper in PK3. When I asked her why she chose Juniper, she said,

> Es muy importante de que los niños hablen inglés, y esa fue una de las cosas que me llamó la Escuela Juniper, decir dos idiomas, español e inglés, esa fue una de las razones del porque elegí la escuela, y porque también me quedaba cerca de donde vivimos. Hablar español hijo, tú sabes que es la segunda lengua, el español—Son de mucha ayuda para mucha gente, hijo. A veces uno quiere en parques que le traduzcan algo, y uno cuando encuentra alguien que habla español dice, "¿Me puedes ayudar?" Para mí, esta escuela me gusta por eso. [It's very important that the children speak English, and this was something that called my attention, because of the two languages, Spanish and English, this was one of the reasons I chose this school. And also, because it's close to where we live. [I said]

> "To speak Spanish, son, you know that it's the second language, Spanish. It's very useful for many people, my son." Sometimes someone wants one to translate in the parks, and when they find someone who speaks Spanish, they say, 'Can you help me?' For me, I like the school because of this.]

She also said, "Sí, es muy importante no olvidar nuestra lengua [Yes, it is very important not to forget our language.]"

I asked Laura about middle school, and specifically Hobbs Middle School, because I remember her talking about applying there for her son. She said,

> Mi hermana siempre aplicó a esa escuela, [nombre de escuela], mis sobrinos iban ahí, me decía ella, "Tienes que aplicar ahí, porque esa escuela, dicen que es buena. Aplica ahí a ver qué tal, ojalá. Ya están mis hijos ahí, tal vez hay prioridad", y sí, fíjese que metí lotería, pero no quedó. Sí hice el intento, porque fíjese que a veces hay[sic] mamás que dicen, "Mira, la escuela está retirada, pero es buena escuela". [My sister always applied to this school, [name of school], my nephews went there, and she said, "You have to apply there because they say that school is good. Apply and see, let's hope. My kids are there, maybe you have priority." And look, I did apply in the lottery, but didn't match. I made the effort, because sometimes there are mothers that say, "Look, the school is far away, but it's a good school."]

She did not want the feeder middle school, Rosewood, because "El concepto de esta escuela, que hay muchas maras…. [The concept of this school is that there are lots of gangs….]" However, she did want her daughter to do a tour of Rosewood. She said she

would do the lottery for her daughter who will likely end up at the charter school where her son attends.

In reference to the lottery, Laura said she was not good at technology, so she asked people to help her; the teachers, Ms. Pacheco, and her son could help her. She said she would apply and list the schools that the teachers and her sister suggest. For example, she applied to several well-regarded public and public charter schools. I asked her about the waitlists for these schools, and she said that they were not small lists, but long lists:

> Sí. Listonas, Miss Marcus, no son listitas pequeñas, son listas grandes. Ese es uno de los problemas que a veces uno quiere algo mejor, para los hijos, pero a veces no se puede, por- como usted dice, hay mucha, mucha espera. [Yes, long lists, Ms. Marcus, they aren't small lists, they are big lists. This is one of the problems, that sometimes someone wants something better for their kids, but sometimes it's not possible, like you say, there is a long, long, waiting list].

Laura wanted more schools, or even just more space at the schools, "para que nosotros tengamos la oportunidad también. [So we have the opportunity too.]" She wished her daughter would get into Hobbs, but the long waiting lists made it challenging, and said "que hubiera más escuelas llamadas Hobbs. [That there were more schools called Hobbs]."

Laura mentioned that she liked Juniper because it was newly renovated, it was bigger, and there were more people, including "americanos," or Americans:

> Ahora hay muchos americanos que si vienen a los tours, Miss Marcus, no va a haber un hispano, viene puro americano, y no vienen dos, vienen 20 padres. Yo al mirarla digo, "Guao", pero, ¿sabe por qué? Por el español, porque es bilingüe. Es

> como le digo, a veces los espacios, se necesitan más para poder que sea bilingüe la escuela. ¿Por qué los espacios? Porque hay mucho, mucho americano, hoy hay mucho americano. [Now there are lots of Americans that come on the tours, Ms. Marcus. There isn't one Hispanic, but pure Americans—and it isn't two, it's twenty parents. To see it, I'm like, "wow," but you know why? For Spanish, because it is bilingual. It's like I say, sometimes the spaces, we need more so that the school can be bilingual. Why spaces? Because there are many, many Americans. Today there are many Americans.]

She said that she liked seeing the English-speaking students learn Spanish. She also gave an example of a Spanish-speaking mother not knowing that she did not apply to the bilingual program and that it was required to specify the bilingual program in the lottery system. She mentioned the example of someone who did not get in because of space:

> Me han comentado, porque los espacios como le digo, en la escuela está renovada, está más grande, pero ha llegado bastante gente, Miss Marcus. A veces dicen, "No quedó en el programa de español", dice, "Yo fui a esa escuela porque quería español para mi hijo", pero le digo yo, "¿Usted cuando fue dijo que quería eso?" "No, fíjese que no solo matriculé". Le digo yo, "Tenía que haberlo dicho". [They have commented to me, because the spaces, like I say, this school is renovated, it's bigger, but lots of people are coming, Ms. Marcus. Sometimes they say, "He didn't get into the Spanish program; I came to this school because I wanted Spanish for him." But I tell her, "When you went, did you tell them?" "No, I didn't." "And I say, you have to say it."]

Marcela. Marcela lived in Juniper's neighborhood but was not sure Juniper would be their neighborhood school. Her nieces and nephews went to Juniper, and Marcela moved closer to the school so her children could attend as well. Her son was in first grade when he started (last year) and entered through Juniper as his school of right. Ms. Pacheco helped her do the lottery for her daughter who was accepted to PK4 through the lottery and sibling preference. Marcela liked that Juniper was bilingual because her kids were at another school before that was not bilingual. They started at Juniper because they moved, but she was not sure about which school was her neighborhood school-of-right:

> Y-y sí, como vivía allá, pero nos vinimos para acá, pero yo no sabía si e-ellos iban a ir a esa escuela, pero ella, les tocó esta escuela como el, la elegida de ellos, como que es en el vecindario de ellos. [And yes, because I lived there, but we came here, I didn't know if they were going to go to this school, but that is the school that is their school, because it is in their neighborhood.]

Another aspect of Juniper that Marcela liked was that the meetings were translated into Spanish so she could understand them.

Cecilia. When I asked Cecilia why she chose Juniper, she explained that she wanted a bilingual, Spanish/English school. She liked that she could communicate with the teachers in her language and that she could come in and ask about her daughters (she remarked that the teachers did not leave her daughters on the stairs as in other schools). Her daughters were at another local public school, which also has a DLE program, but the family moved, making Juniper closer. She explained that she did not have to apply via lottery because Juniper was their school of right (her daughter started in second grade). Her two other daughters got in via lottery for PK (they qualify for both a sibling and a neighborhood preference). When Cecilia registered her oldest daughter, Juniper still had a strand program, but she specifically said that she wanted the bilingual program because she was in a dual language program before.

Due to teacher turnover in kindergarten, Cecilia was not happy with the experience during the school year when the study took place:

> Antes me gustaba cuando estaba la otra directora. Sí, me gustaba más, como que había más, este, comunicación, más orden. Ahora veo que no-no mucho. Por lo menos, la niña que va a kínder no tiene una maestra fija. Cada rato desde que entró, la están poniendo alguien ahí, no-no-- Eh, como que hay un desorden. [I liked it before when it was the other principal. Yes, I liked it more because there was more communication, more order. Now I see that there is not much. My daughter in kindergarten doesn't have a steady teacher. Ever since she started, they are putting someone in there. It's like, there is disorder.]

At the time of the study, her oldest daughter was in the bilingual program at Rosewood Middle School. Cecilia said,

> Eh, este, cuando al- el director habló con nosotros, dijo que era-- Seguía siendo bilingüe, y entonces, me-me-me sentí más segura, porque después los niños ya cuando van a-a middle school, como que se les empieza a olvidar el español. Entonces, ya estando en escuela bilingüe siguen con esa clase, y como que ya ellos lo pueden leer, escribir y hablar. [When the principal spoke with us, he told us that it would continue to be bilingual, so I felt more secure because later when the kids go to middle school, like they start to forget their Spanish. So being in that bilingual school they continue with that class and they can read, write, and speak it.]

But high school would be different, she said, "Eh, para la high school sí estoy pensando, porque no quiero ninguna de la área." [But for high school I'm thinking because I don't want any in this area.]

While Juniper was her first choice, the previous school they attended was her next choice, even though it was farther. She said she liked it better than Juniper because of the experience in kindergarten. She said, "Pero estoy viendo, si no-si no cambia aquí su forma de ser, este, creo que lo voy a tener que cambiar." [But I'll see. If the way it is doesn't change, I think I'm going to have to change (schools.)]

Consuelo. When she looked for schools, Consuelo looked for bilingual schools and local schools. She liked that her children were learning two languages and the communication aspect that came with that. She talked about her children visiting her country and being able to communicate with people and about family visiting here and being able to communicate with them. Consuelo also had children in her home country of El Salvador and wanted them all to be able to communicate with each other. She said:

> Y entonces, siempre cuando yo empecé a buscar escuelas siempre busqué algo que fuera bilingüe, porque digo, nosotros como hispanos, nuestros hijos tienen que hablar nuestro idioma. Y-y pues-- Y a ella pues, gracias a Dios, a mi hija le hicieron el examen para poderla poner en bilingüe y la pusieron en bilingüe. [And so, always when I started to look for schools, I always looked for bilingual schools, because, as Hispanics, our children need to speak our language. And so, she, thank God, my daughter took the exam to be in bilingual, and they put her in bilingual].

Before being placed in the bilingual program, Consuelo's daughter was enrolled at the school, but not specifically in the bilingual program. Consuelo was confused by this at first, because the school is named Juniper Bilingual Elementary School, and said,

> Porque pues supuestamente para mí la escuela, a todos los niños les daban bilingüe y no era así, había niños que solo hablaban ingles, y había niños que hablaban ingles y español. Entonces cuando yo vi las tareas de mi hija, y-y vi yo que necesitaba mi hija-necesitaba mi hija—Que yo necesitaba que ella—y dije yo, "Mi hija no esta en bilingüe", entonces fui a averiguar yo y entonces era cierto, no estaba en bilingüe, solo estaba en-solo estaba en-en inglés. Entonces yo pues pedí

> hablar con-con las personas, como digamos, mas altas de la escuela, para que ella—Entonces me dijeron, "Tiene que hacer un examen", "Pues háganselo", pero yo después estaba yo preocupada, dije, "Ay, mi hija no pasa este examen", pero gracias a Dios pues ella pasó el examen y me la pudieron poner en bilingüe hasta cuando ya ella fue al tercer grado. [Because for me, supposedly the school, all the kids received a bilingual education, but it wasn't like that. There were kids who only spoke English and there were kids who spoke English and Spanish. So, when I saw my daughter's homework, I saw that I needed, my daughter needed—and I said, "She's not in a bilingual class." So, I went to check and it was true, she wasn't in bilingual, she was only, she was only in English. So, I went to talk with the people, how do we say, the highest in the school, so that she—and they said, "she has to do an exam." I said, "give it to her," but I was preoccupied, I said, "oh if my daughter doesn't pass this exam." But thank God she passed the exam and they put her in bilingual for third grade].

Expanding on her initial confusion about her daughter's placement in the English class, she said,

> No sabia que había que decir- que yo quería que ella estuviera en bilingüe, porque para mí pues como la escuela dice, "Bilingüe", era todo bilingüe - pero no era así. Pero ahora parece que la escuela, su meta es para el 2023, este, ser completamente bilingüe. [I didn't know that you had to say, that I wanted her in bilingual, because for me, as the school says "Bilingual" it was all bilingual, but it isn't that way. But now it looks like the school, its goal for 2023 is to be completely bilingual].

Her daughter started at Juniper in second grade and before that was in an all English school. Consuelo did not like the other school, saying, "porque yo quería que mi hija aprendiera los dos idiomas. [because I wanted her to learn two languages]." Her son did not have to go through the lottery because he has special needs: "No necesitabas ponerlo en lotería, porque él ya automáticamente él va a esa escuela. [I didn't need to put him in the lottery because he automatically goes to this school.]"

Elsa. Elsa moved to the location of this study from Texas about four years prior to the study. Before that, she had lived in El Salvador, where she was from. She had three sons: one in PK3, one in kindergarten, and one in Rosewood (in seventh grade). Similar to Laura, Elsa found out about Juniper from her sister. Her sister's children were at Juniper, and her sister liked the school, so she brought Elsa to Juniper to introduce her. Because she lived two blocks from Juniper, she had neighborhood right to attend. She said that she was not sure about the different tracks at Juniper:

> Sí, la verdad es que no estaba muy segura yo, pero como mi hermana ya tenía experiencia y me dijo que sí, que era bilingüe. Pero que hay gente que optaba por tenerlo solo en programa inglés. Ahí decidían, me dijo, por ejemplo, el niño de ella estuvo un tiempo que solo con inglés. [Yes, the truth is that I wasn't very sure. But as my sister had experience here and she told me that yes, it is bilingual. But there are people that opt for only the English. They decided, she told me, that her son was in English only for a while.]

She did the lottery for her other two sons, who had sibling preference, and also got into Juniper. I asked her about the lottery, and she said,

> Sí, siempre la he hecho. Eso todo el tiempo lo he hecho ahí. Incluso de que hay hermano acá, este, que dice que a veces es prioridad, pero no [ríe]. Yo para los dos pequeños últimos siempre la hice. [Yes, I've always done it. All the time I have done it. Including that he has a brother here, they say that gives priority, but no (laughs). For the two youngest I always did it.]

She was happy at Juniper and liked that they put importance on both languages. She said,

> Ah, pues es muy bueno, a mí me gusta porque tienen como, como una oportunidad más, porque, aunque nosotros somos hispanos, los niños acá prefieren el Inglés, la mayoría. Aunque uno no hable el inglés al 100%, ellos lo prefieren y-y yo me siento a gusto que ellos a, quieran y le pongan importancia desde el principio a los dos idiomas. [Ah well, very good. I like it because they have like, like another opportunity, because even though we are Hispanic, the kids here prefer English, the majority. Even though one doesn't speak English 100%, they prefer it. And I feel content that they want, and that they place importance on two languages from the start.]

As did Laura, Elsa mentioned the American kids who spoke Spanish and that she liked to see how they spoke Spanish. She said it was "gratificante" [gratifying] to see American kids speaking Spanish and her kids speaking two languages also. She did not like the kindergarten experience with the teacher turnover during the year of the study and mentioned how some parents even changed classrooms. She said that there was a lack of stability. She liked Rosewood and thought it was a good option for her son because it was bilingual and "la misma secuencia" [the same sequence].

Janice. Janice was a monolingual English speaker and attorney on maternity leave with her third child. She lived in-boundary for Juniper with her daughters in kindergarten and second grade (now in first and third grades). Her daughters were previously in a private preschool, and they moved to the neighborhood based on schools and charter options. They liked that Juniper had a pre-kindergarten program. Their neighbors invited them over to talk about Juniper, and they spoke highly of it; Janice also knew the school had just undergone renovations. Regarding dual language, she said,

> We were very interested in that. I don't speak any other languages, my husband took Spanish in high school and I think some in college, but otherwise neither of us speak a second language and the opportunity for our kids to start learning a second language at three and four years old was very appealing to us.

She also liked the diversity at Juniper and said,

> Our kids are going to school with primarily Latino families and that's part of it for us too is to have kids that are growing up and don't really see huge differences from the get-go. And we're just part of a society where they don't really look at themselves and others as all that different and I feel that going to a school where everyone is different, as opposed to everyone being, White upper-class, that was important to us as well.

When I asked about her experiences with the lottery, she said,

> Yeah, I mean I haven't really- I don't really have much to say on the lottery since we did it the first year to basically get into Juniper, and then we've kind of stuck with it and halfheartedly listed some other schools thinking, well we'll see what

> happens if we get in but not really being all that interested. Because we have been happy so far.

Even though they were happy at Juniper, she had doubts about middle school:

> Now whether we'll stay in this system- whether we'll do Rosewood, I kind of doubt? Just 'cause I'm not sure how well that will be established by the time Kate's ready to begin sixth grade. We probably will play the lottery at that point. We're also zoned under sort of the grandfather provisions so Kate will actually be able to go to Hobbs and Smith, so that kind of gives us a backup.

She did not see any reason to move the children out of Juniper at the time of the study because the children were happy and because she liked that Juniper had become more of a neighborhood school with a sense of community there.

Lyla. Lyla worked in education, and her mother was a lifelong educator. She moved to her house nine years before the study (2010) and before having children. She said of the neighborhood school,

> I was like, okay, elementary school, you can figure out elementary school, but high school and middle school are a lot harder, and we were zoned for the schools that everyone considers desirable so we're going to be fine. And I was hearing really good things about Juniper because I knew people who were working in the city. It becomes like a small town and even like, I want to say it was probably eight years ago that I was talking to someone and she's like, "There's really exciting stuff happening at Juniper. You should go check it out. I'll set up a tour for you."

She wanted her children to go to Juniper and did not consider other neighborhood schools as an option:

> We wanted to get into Juniper. I have a really deep-seated love for neighborhood schools, so the fact that this is my neighborhood school, the fact that it was…I mean my family's White so the fact that we were the minority in this school, that it was diversity.

She had been very happy with Juniper, even adding,

> For me, I'm like, this is like the Shangri-La of my living my public-school dream in the city because I think it's actually, I think Juniper does have the best Pre-K in the city. And the bilingual on top of that. For me it was just like, it was a double win. I think I really loved the idea of my kids are learning a foreign language because I suck at foreign language. And I mean really, I consider it a huge handicap, and I know that when you're a child and you're learning, you're learning is able to do it better and it changes some structure of your brain. And so, I think it's just a huge thing. Now I would not have put my kids in a school if I thought it was unsafe or there wasn't any good learning going on and all they were going to learn was Spanish. I would not prioritize foreign language over the academics.

As did Elsa, Lyla also mentioned the instability in kindergarten with the teacher turnover. She decided to try the lottery again for the following year, but she ultimately decided to move to a house in a different location within the city. She said, "We did do the lottery, and we didn't match anywhere. I said my son's a rising first-grader, a rising kindergartner, but what we've decided to do is we've decided to move." Part of her decision, she said, came from the boundary changes that the district made in 2014 that

meant she no longer had access to Hobbs Middle School or Smith High School. She said, “But I just frankly, like our middle school and high school are not acceptable to me.” She said she was sad that her sons would lose the language but wanted to minimize transitions. She said, “I think the community is the best thing. I love how homegrown it is.” However, there were also challenges:

> And there are certainly challenges with so many of the families not being English speaking and just the…I don’t speak Spanish but I literally, one of my kids has this great friend and his mom doesn’t speak English and my son’s like, “Let’s have him over for a play date.” I’m like, I’ve tried to talk to his mom and we literally don’t speak the same language.

Henry and Lillian. I interviewed Henry and Lillian together because they were both at Juniper for their parent/teacher conference. They had three children, two of them at Juniper (in kindergarten and first grades) and lived in the neighborhood. Both of them were in the education field and gave me background context. They taught for 10 years in both Chicago and Santiago, Chile. They both then worked at a local, public, dual language school, where the father served four years as the assistant principal. They moved to the neighborhood specifically for the school. Lillian said:

> I mean we, for one really wanted to have a neighborhood school. Um, you know that there're a gajillion charters in [the city] and they all are in [the city] and they all seem fine, but like, we want to support a [city] public school if we can. Um, we moved here knowing, I think we knew one family that had a kid at Juniper. Um, and it sounded good. And I don't know, both of us, I think, have a lot of

> confidence that we can like walk into schools and get a like a pretty good feel about how well this stuff is going.

They did not have an interest in continuing to play the lottery: “I think there are people who sort of play the lottery every year and like we have literally no interest in any way shape or form.” They also spoke about attending Juniper even if it were not bilingual. Henry said:

> So, I don't think that we necessarily, like, if Juniper had—if we had heard good things about Juniper and it had not been bilingual, we would still be here. But I think things just lined up nicely that we were fans of bilingualism. I was learning and advocating for families to come to [name of school] for the bilingual opportunity. And so, you know, talking about research and stuff and brain development and like function, you know, the benefits of a bilingual approach. And so, it just worked out nicely then for us to be, I think we felt—I think that we were pretty informed around, like, it takes time and it's not like they're going to start speaking Spanish in year one.

As did some of the other kindergarten parents, they also talked about the difficulties during the year of the study with teacher turnover and used the word “unsettled” to describe it.

Mila and Carl. Mila and Carl had one daughter in PK3. When I said I was doing my dissertation research, Mila told me she was "ABD" (all but dissertation), and Carl said he had a doctorate in economics. They spoke English/Italian at home, so Spanish was a third language for their daughter. When I asked why they chose Juniper, Carl said, "The most important criteria for us would be the-the stats on the schools." He also said they wanted to "make full use" of the lottery and that private schools were an option. They ranked schools and wanted a bilingual school combined with proximity (they lived in Juniper's neighborhood) and did not want Mar Brillante (a popular public, bilingual, charter) because it was too much of a commute. Juniper was ranked third or fourth on their lottery preferences, and they were matched. Carl commented, "If we had selected number three or another school, probably it would be a different school, non-bilingual."

Even though they were not dissatisfied with Juniper, they did the lottery again but gave higher rank to the bilingual preference versus proximity. Carl mentioned,

> With doing it again, just for rankings and—and thinking more not for the elementary but thinking more about middle school and-and what track you get into and if we want it, uh, have the International Baccalaureate as an option but all of the ones that we've selected in this second time that we are doing the lottery are all dual programs.

Carl described PK3 and PK4 as mixed classrooms and said that some students were already fluent in Spanish. He liked that the grades were together because the PK3 students could learn from the PK4 students who had already had a year of Spanish. I asked about the language divide in the program, and Mila said,

> It's a good question, but it's our first year here so—and at this stage, we, it's not really anything about academics. It's really just about the socializing, and the play, and the sort of the exposure to Spanish, the exposure through songs. She—she comes home singing Spanish songs all the time, which is great.

Mila said that she was happy with the "personal touch" at Juniper, including the home visits and the letter sent home from the teacher over the summer.

Ryan and Dolores. I met with Ryan and Dolores in their home after they graciously invited me there for the interview. Ryan and Dolores moved to their house about 10 years ago (in 2009) before their son was born. They said they were not yet thinking about schools at that time but were told that the neighborhood school was "no good." Dolores said,

> But basically, we liked the neighborhood and bought the house before we knew anything about school, really, at all. So, that was—We just figured that was going to make our housing decision too complicated. It was already really complicated, and housing prices were so high. And so, we just felt like, we'll just buy a house and we'll figure out the school later, because we've got several years to do that.

Dolores was Cuban American, and Ryan was from Washington state. They primarily spoke Spanish at home. When they had their son, they put him in a bilingual daycare. Their son spoke mostly Spanish, and they wanted a bilingual school program for him to continue learning Spanish. Dolores said,

> And so, we were interested in a bilingual program but open to other things, too. And we knew families from the daycare that had children that were a little older that were going to different schools in the area, so we felt like that was a main

> source of information for us, was the other families that we were interacting with at the daycare. So like yeah, most of our information came from people we know.

Ryan and Dolores told me that they also applied and were accepted to a private Catholic bilingual school but wanted to try the neighborhood option. Dolores said they had low expectations for Juniper, but "We liked that it was bilingual, we liked that it's two blocks away." She continued to explain, "We were just a little bit skeptical because there was no buzz at all about Juniper at the time." Her husband added, "You think, 'What does it mean to have it be the neighborhood school and no one in the neighborhood knows a single thing about it?'" Dolores continued,

> Nobody, and there are lots of kids here, nobody was sending their kids there. They were all over town at different schools that they lotteried into. But then we liked it, so we figured out that there was one family in our daycare that had an older daughter that was going there.

She said language was important, but it was not the most important aspect, and based on knowing a family that went there and doing a tour with the principal, they decided to send their son to Juniper. Dolores said,

> Well, it's closer and it's free, and it's our public school, and we like the idea of that, and he's starting preschool, and so if we don't like it, we can always go to Sacred Heart next year or even later this year. We figured it was something that would always be open to us. But we have liked it; it has been good. The whole time. I may not like every little thing, but it's been good both for both kids.

Ryan spoke multiple languages (Japanese, German, Turkish, Spanish, and English) and liked Juniper. He explained,

> I mean, obviously Spanish has a special place in this country, basically, but the skill set that's associated with it I thought was useful for, also to things that—I would have appreciated early bilingual education I think, and having tried to pick up other things later, it's like—I felt like I had a talent, but then it was still like I was behind the curve.

When I asked about challenges, Ryan mentioned parent meetings and said,

> I mean—there are some where there are a lot of Spanish speakers, but there's only a few where there are very few people who are not Spanish speakers, and then—I would say about at least probably the majority of the parents would greatly prefer it to speak Spanish, to never speak English. They have much more difficulty in English. They would much prefer if they could—they'd be much [more] comfortable in Spanish. I don't know how many other schools, maybe four or five schools in the district might be remotely similar…,but it's not necessarily that it's Latino, because they're big, high Latino populations; it's just the—basically, ELL parents who didn't necessarily even get a lot of English language learning themselves, and those families are hard to—basically, in school context and other ways, essentially to socialize with, from—everything from attitudes towards school and teachers, to other parents, and then obligations with family and with their kids and like—it made it hard to join in the activities if people wanted to do that, socially, with schools.

Dolores added,

> That kind of stuff, and that was not appealing to the families that had been there already, and so trying to make one cohesive group out of these two communities

> has been really hard, even though I feel like the group that we're with, which is the sort of—there are families that moved into the neighborhood and have kind of reclaimed—the school as a place where you would send a child that had—I don't know how to put it. I guess what I'm saying is people with more money moved into the neighborhood and started sending their kids to the school, and believe me, it can be good, and, but that, they—and I think those folks that were among them want[ing] to interact and there's like a shyness on both sides. I think everybody means well; I think it's just, you know, not quite knowing how to bridge that—even, like you said, it's more than a language barrier. Yeah, it's a tough challenge. Yeah.

We talked about how some people at Juniper did not know about the differences in models, and Dolores commented, "Yeah, like come here but this is your only choice," referring to children being enrolled in the EO program when they move to the neighborhood later. Ryan added, "Right, and that I don't like either; they're just like—the only people who don't know what they're getting are the people who you feel like you want to serve the most, right?"

Because Ryan and Dolores experienced the change in principal leadership at Juniper, I asked if they felt or noticed a change in the school. Dolores said she thought she should judge the new principal by her product, but that the former principal, "I mean, she made a good school out of a school nobody believed in…."

I also asked them about middle school. They went to Rosewood for a tour and liked the principal there. He was a former assistant principal at Juniper, and Ryan helped hire him for his current position at Rosewood. They were impressed with the school and

thought it was a good option for middle school. They continued to talk about families leaving before middle school, and Dolores said,

> I mean, they just do whatever they think is right, but there are some families that over the years that have been in Juniper have left when they get a better school in the lottery, and their kids are doing fine. I mean, even like families that we know that have moved their kids mid-year, and their kids are doing fine, 'cause they got a better spot or something. Yay, your daughter's crying for a week after that, and you thought that was a good idea. And now they're doing bad, just 'cause you wanna go to the fancier school, but I don't know.

When I asked them about the lottery system, Ryan commented, “You know, it’s like creating a hierarchy of desire by design.” He said, “On the other side of it, if you can identify something that you're really not actually getting in school, fine, but otherwise a school for everybody is also a school for you.”

I asked if there was anything they wanted to share that I had not asked about, and Ryan commented, “Sometimes I think, like, they could push harder on the dual language stuff…the district and the school.” He went on and said that for Dolores, it was like a “weird opportunity to maintain a heritage language,” but he wondered if the district could do more to make the language stick.

Emily. Emily was originally from Ethiopia and thought it was important for her children to speak multiple languages. She was the only Juniper parent who did not feel comfortable being recorded. She and her family lived on [name of street], and Juniper was their neighborhood school. Emily had three children, two of whom were school age and attended Juniper (in kindergarten and third grade, dual language). Her children spoke Spanish, although sometimes "upside down," but she said she could figure it out at the time. She liked Juniper because her children felt confident and because they spoke Spanish. They also spoke Amharic and Tigrigna, their community language. She said she liked all languages and looked at other schools, but her neighborhood was within the boundary area for Juniper, and there was not that much information available to her. She wanted a bilingual school, felt like she knew the teachers and was connected to them, and thought her children were comfortable. She said her son, who was two years old, felt at home at Juniper. She also said that she wanted her kids to learn Spanish because it is the most important language in the United States after English. She gave her children lessons in Amharic every Thursday. She thought was important to learn languages and valued them.

When I asked her what could be improved at Juniper, she said that sometimes communication was lacking, such as in the case of the kindergarten teacher turnover during the study year. She said she would have liked to hear the information first-hand instead of from her children. She said she did not know for weeks about the teacher turnover in kindergarten and wondered why the teachers left. She felt the teachers were connected with the children and that it was emotional to have a teacher leave. Emily

worried whether the administration had the knowledge to grow the school. She thought that all families needed to participate in neighborhood schools.

I asked about middle school, and Emily said that she and her husband talked about middle school every day. She thought that maybe her children would move to an international public charter school for middle school, or maybe they would move homes to be in-boundary for a different school. She and her husband were still talking about it, and they loved Juniper and had since the beginning. She added that her husband was very supportive of their Juniper decision.

Single-Case Research Question #2: How Does the School Administrator at Juniper Perceive Parent Access to the School's Dual Language Education Program in Terms of the Lottery System and Neighborhood Access?

Assistant Principal, Amaya. Amaya was one of two assistant principals at Juniper, and it was her second year in this capacity. Amaya's family was Cuban American, and she grew up in Miami, Florida. Her mother was a Spanish teacher. I first met Amaya when she started at Juniper as the second-grade dual language teacher the year I left Juniper. I asked her about her background. She said that when she decided she wanted to teach, she knew she wanted to be in a school similar to the one she attended, majority Latinx. She did not attend a dual language school and said she did not know anything about dual language before she started teaching. She wanted to continue on a leadership path and would eventually like to be a school principal, although she thought she still needed more time as an assistant principal. She thought she would eventually like to work on educational issues through a national lens.

Amaya talked about visiting Juniper before she started working there, saying,

> So I just fell in love, I walked in and said "Oh my gosh, this feels like the school I went to;" the families were there, everyone was "I'm Español," and that was normal, and to be like—I want to be just like her one day [the former principal, who was Juniper's principal at the time]….I fell in love with Juniper, and I knew I wanted to become an administrator. Because I believe you need bilingual administrators in bilingual schools. And so, seeing that process through was very difficult for me. Seeing the transition from a principal who really valued dual language and valued bilingualism to then that changing and shifting. It really motivated me to ensure at Juniper you could ask teachers who advocates [sic] for still feeling that we feel like a dual language school. My hope is that they would say me because I'm still pushing a lot.

Amaya had been at Juniper since 2012. In 2015, school leadership changed from a bilingual, female, Cuban American, to the current principal, an African American female who does not speak Spanish. In the year of this study, as Juniper began its transition to a full school DLE program, the school departmentalized its content areas to move away from the differences between the EO and DL tracks. Amaya talked about Juniper and its language dynamics. She said, "So it's very easy to forget that we're a dual language school. And more schools are departmentalized now, and I think we need to come back together as a cohort of [district] dual language teachers to reignite that." She discussed the challenges to Juniper and this shift to a new model, stating,

> We didn't really think about how does that impact us as a dual language school and how are we ensuring that our systems and practices for dual language and language is still there? Cause it feels very like, just, this is your content area, this

> is your content area, and we forget that our kids are learning in two languages. That bridging is not happening, right? Or that like, making the cross connections and building off of what you learned in the other class, that's not necessarily happening as much as explicitly as it could be.

Amaya led the Spanish Language Arts (SLA) work at Juniper and talked about this role:

> I lead our Spanish Language Arts team and I feel like very proud of the work that we're doing in terms of aligning our work with ELA and identifying—okay, if in ELA you're going to read nonfiction text then in SLA we're going to do fiction, right? Or, like, these standards are going to focus on ELA, and this is what we're going to focus on in SLA.

Amaya also talked about her perception of why families came to Juniper and how they accessed Juniper, saying, “We see a lot of families coming to Juniper because either they move into the neighborhood and now the neighborhood is completely shifted, right?” She mentioned one non-native Spanish speaker in the fifth-grade class, but the rest of the students in the class were native Spanish speakers. She went on to explain the lottery for PK and then the assessment for access to DL after first grade. She said that she was not sure if they did a good job explaining to families about DLE and talked about how the students took math in Spanish, for example:

> But it's more about the “what does it entail?” So, what does it feel like for your monolingual student to be in a math class all day, or for 80 minutes in Spanish? And so, I want the families to really have a feel for that. Because I don't think that they truly internalize it.

She also talked about how students' scores impacted her school and her score if they did not know the language. She explained a situation with an English-speaking mother whose daughter needed extra attention in Spanish and was taken out of science for Spanish intervention. The mother was upset about this because her daughter liked science but did not like Spanish that much. Amaya said, "But that comment from that family just made me realize that they don't understand that if their child is not on grade level, that impacts me. That impacts my score. And that impacts our school."

Amaya explained that she was not always sure why families chose Juniper. She gave an example of an Ethiopian family that chose Juniper because of a family they knew whose child attended; she mentioned another family with a child that did not speak Spanish at home but entered at first grade because the school was nearby. She also talked about the perception of Juniper and the increased interest in it:

> What's sad is why do people feel like it's better, is probably because there are more White kids in the older grades. Who knows why they think it's better? Because our scores are not good. If you look at Juniper in comparison to Simon Madera academically, Simon Madera blows us out of the water right now. And I think that's too because that has to do a lot with instructional leadership. That's another question. But I think last year families that left is we had about maybe a handful families that left, and a few of them moved out of the district. And then two of them went to Mar Brillante, because they wanted to go to [an international charter] for middle school, and I'm like people, you have eight years until your child is middle school. Everything can change.

She referred to an African American student who became “truly bilingual” and mentioned that in this case, “higher socio-economic status” played a role more than race, explaining that the mother was an educator. She continued, saying,

> Yeah, right when it's going to start. So I think that is a very interesting thing to consider, is who is selecting Juniper because it's dual language, and then who is choosing to continue that, versus who is saying, “Oh, I'm picking this school because I want my kid to kind of learn another language, but I'm not willing to commit to it in middle school.” And there're Latino families, they come because I think maybe we have two off the lottery. And that's because they came to Juniper, and we helped them do the lottery.

As far as equitable access, Amaya talked about how Latinx families did not understand the lottery process. She mentioned mothers who came in with 3-year-olds and said they wanted to enroll in Juniper, but they did not understand that they had to do the lottery. The school secretary, Ms. Pacheco, helped them with the process. Amaya also talked about two families who paid tuition to attend Juniper because they moved out of its boundary. She also gave an example of a special education student who she just moved from the EO program to the DL program. Amaya explained that she knew the student would not pass the assessment test but that the student would be doing much better if she were learning in two languages. She said, “So I just moved her.” Amaya also talked about the challenges of running a dual language program without leadership with experience in dual language. She said that there were no bilingual superintendents and that no one who led in DL had taught in a DL school. (At the time of the study, the superintendent who oversaw the cluster of schools that included Juniper was an African

American woman. I met her last year at a conference and learned that she had studied Spanish. Although I cannot attest to her level of Spanish, I do know that she had a background in the language.)

Assistant Principal, Jackie. Jackie, the other Juniper assistant principal, was in her first year at the school. At the conclusion of the study year, she took on a principal role at a school with a majority African American population and a DLE strand program. She was African American and had a background in world languages, specifically French and Spanish. She used to be a world languages teacher at the high school level. She lived in a neighboring county and her son attended a French immersion program. She also served as an evaluator for teachers of world languages. She talked about her background and experiences:

> I got my national board certification as a Spanish teacher, and in that process, I really was intrigued just about continuing student learning and improving their outcomes and beginning to advocate for what we would call world language, right, education. And wanting to have a greater impact and wanting to work with the teachers to develop our practice collaboratively, if you will.

She discussed the achievement gap and her desire to be a principal, saying,

> I aspire to be a principal. And my passion is that language education is a way to close the opportunity or achievement gap when we think about what's going on internationally and how children around the world are learning multiple languages. It is, my belief, a disservice that students here in the States are not afforded this opportunity, and I think that of course the movement has begun and it's continuing to pick up speed, and I love speaking with Isabel [Bilingual

> Program Officer] and just hearing about the great work that's happening here in [focal city] and across the nation as our eyes are opening to this is the reality of the benefit of dual language. Dual language education not only for English language learners but also for American monolinguals. It's good for everyone.

Jackie spoke about wanting to know about different models and structures to compare to Juniper in order to figure out what is the best model for dual language. I asked her about the model in pre-K, and she said she did not know what the model was at that level. She compared Juniper to the immersion school her son was in, which she described as a 90/10 model, and said, "So at Juniper it's more the 50/50 kind of approach from preschool and kindergarten and first, and so whether it's effective or not, I'm not sure."

When I asked her about access related to the program, she brought up the parent coordinator. She said,

> I will say that our family and liaison or parent coordinator, as it relates to access—what I've seen, because I've participated in some enrollment home visits and things of that nature, I will say that I think that that role is critical. Just to access and having somebody whom the families trust in that role. I've seen…I don't have hard evidence around this, it's kind of anecdotally what I believe is important. Just that individual as it relates to recruitment and maintenance for lack of a better term. Additional supporting families on an ongoing basis from their entrance into our school community is essential as well.

I asked Jackie about the language division at Juniper for the PK3 and PK4 programs. Juniper currently has an even divide of 50% Spanish dominant and 50% English dominant students for the lottery into the pre-kindergarten programs. I asked her if she thought Juniper would change the percentage in favor of Spanish-dominant speakers, and she said she had heard it mentioned in "discussions around enrollment," and then she went on to talk about diversity as "beautiful." I also asked her about access and inclusion of African American families at Juniper. She said,

> Yeah, I don't always see…I'm coming from the high school, so let me say that first off, right, so high school level, you don't see a whole lot of families. Have to beg families to come in at the high school level. So, coming back to elementary school, I do see a lot more families. I don't see as many African American students' families as I would like. But let me also preface that to say of the families of students who may have academic concerns, right, like the families that I would want to see more, to be more involved, I don't always see them as much. So, I do see—I'm thinking of specific families right now that I see. I see Courtney's grandmother. I see Eric's father all the time. I see Daren's mother quite a bit, and she's actively involved in the parent/teacher organization and supporting with our park initiative and things of that nature, but a student like Rachel, who is grade levels behind, I wish I would see her family more, and I'm not sure if that's just unique to, right, being African American, but if not, it's like I think it is just the students who have some of these academic, they're behind right? A lot of times what I see, just what I perceive, my opinion, is that those families are not always engaged and involved as well, which sometimes can

> possibly perhaps be linked or correlated to their students' achievement. So, I think it is the reason why, rather, I know it is the reason why [the principal] and Amaya worked hard at the end of last year and the team to try to make this unified schedule. And that way students are perceived now just like, "I'm a Juniper student, and we're all learning Spanish," whether I'm learning Spanish through SLA or I'm learning Spanish through world language. I don't have a comparative measure. I can't say what it was like last year because I wasn't here.

Jackie spoke about challenges within the community whenever you have a special program within a school and about streamlining meetings to make them more efficient:

> We have the headphones, so we're trying to be very thoughtful and strategic around providing language access. For others, that might be perceived as, "Oh well, this is drawing the time on longer and longer. Cause now we have to hear the same presentation twice," and things of those [sic] nature. People are not very forthright and explicit in talking like that, but I think that those things are sometimes on people's minds, but just this level of cultural and linguistic sensitivity that has to be fostered in dual language schools amongst all stakeholders is quite critical.

She also discussed other challenges of DLE, including getting high quality teacher candidates who are bilingual and biliterate. She did not see that as unique to Juniper but to dual language schools in general. She talked about a strength of Juniper as having involved parents and gave the example of a parent bringing arroz con leche to a Saturday PARCC prep session.

Single-Case Research Question #3: How Do Perceptions of Access and Choice Vary Between the Parents in Juniper and the Administrator?

In the case of Juniper, Amaya mentioned the different ways that families accessed the program, either through the lottery or through the neighborhood. She mentioned that the neighborhood was shifting demographically and that there were some families about whom she was not sure why they choose Juniper (she said perhaps they had friends who attended). She mentioned that some Latinx families still came into the school to ask for help with the lottery and that some mothers came in wanting to enroll their children for the PK3 program, unaware there was a mechanism (the lottery) to do so. She mentioned that Juniper had two families paying tuition because they had moved out of boundary for the school but still wanted to attend. Amaya talked about a student she moved from the EO track to the DL track who she said would not be able to pass the assessment test because of special needs, but that the DLE program would be better for her.

Jackie said she did not have much knowledge about access to the program because it was her first year at the school. When I asked Jackie about her perception of access to the program on behalf of African American families, she talked about the families that she saw in relation to the discipline of the students, not in how they accessed the program, nor did she mention if they were in the EO or the DLE track. In relation to equitable access, she also spoke about the importance of the role of the community liaison in reaching out to families and engaging them.

All the parents who participated in the study accessed Juniper through the lottery for their PK children or through neighborhood entry in the case of the older grades when they moved to the neighborhood with elementary-age children. A couple of parents

(Laura and Elsa) mentioned having the secretary help them with the lottery process, but Laura said her son could now help her. Consuelo at first understood access to DLE to be access to the whole school, because it is "Juniper Bilingual Elementary School," but she learned her daughter was in the EO track. In this case, she accessed DLE by having her daughter take a placement exam. Beatriz's son, who returned to Juniper in third grade, did not have the option to enroll in the DL track and was placed in the EO program. She said she still had to do the lottery for him to access the school, even though they had moved to be closer to Juniper.

Butterfield Elementary School

Single-Case Research Question #1: How Do Parents at Butterfield Make Decisions About Their Child's Enrollment in Their School? What Are the Factors That Influence This Decision?

At Butterfield, I interviewed six parents. Half of these parents lived in the local neighborhood and half accessed the school via lottery. All the participants except Natalie were NSS, although a couple of the NSS parents were bilingual and preferred to speak English. Table 14 summarizes the demographic data of my participants and the ways in which they accessed Butterfield. Similar to my discussion of Juniper, I will discuss each participant from Butterfield in turn.

Table 14

Parent Participants at Butterfield Elementary School

Parent	Home Language	Number of children	Grades[a]	Grade entered	Entry mechanism	Reference code[b]
Gloria	Spanish	1	2nd	PK3	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	NSS
Alejandra	Spanish	2	PK4, 3rd	K, PK3	Lottery (out-of-boundary)	NSS
Luz	Spanish/English	2	1st, 3rd	K, PK3	Neighborhood; lottery (neighborhood preference)	NSS
Maria	English	2	1st, 2nd	PK3	Lottery (neighborhood preference)	NSS
Joserie	Spanish	2	3rd, 4th	PK3 and PK4	Lottery (out of boundary)	NSS
Natalie	English	1	2nd	K	Lottery (out-of-boundary)	NES

[a] Refers to grade for the 2019-2020 school year.

[b] I use this code as an identifier for the participant in Chapter 5.

Gloria. I met Gloria in front of Butterfield Elementary School at the end of a school day. We entered the school together and sat in a conference room on the lower floor to talk. Butterfield was Gloria's neighborhood school, and her daughter got in to the PK3 program via the lottery. Gloria moved from Mexico to this area and was taking adult education classes at Estrella (a local, bilingual, parent/child educational community) when a school staff member approached her about her daughter and schools. The staff at Estrella helped her complete the lottery application, and her daughter was matched with

Butterfield. She said that had she not attended Estrella; her neighbors likely would have told her about Butterfield because they had children of similar ages.

Gloria said that she wanted her daughter to be bilingual and know both cultures. She loved Butterfield. When I asked her what she liked about the school she said, "No olvidamos nuestro idioma que es el castellano, el español. La comunidad, la gente muy amable, bien calurosa. Me gusta el área también. [We don't forget our language, which is Spanish. The community, the people are very nice, very warm. I like the area too.]"

When I asked Gloria about doing the lottery, she explained that her daughter would continue at Butterfield until fifth grade. Gloria would then apply again to the lottery for her daughter. She said,

> No, ahorita continúa hasta quinto y ahí ya es que voy a volver a aplicar para ver dónde queda ella. Siempre buscar no las mejores escuelas, pero algo que ella esté segura, cómoda y que aprenda, lo más importante. No importa que haya diferentes personas en esa escuela, sino que haya mucho compañerismo y respeto, sobre todo; es lo que quiero, que ella aprenda el respeto y que no se fije en el color de la piel, o que ignore esas partes. [No, now she will continue until fifth grade and then is when I will apply to the lottery to see where she goes. I always look for, not the best schools, but something where she is secure, comfortable, where she can learn, most importantly. It doesn't matter if there are different people in the school, rather that there is comradery and respect, above all. That's what I want, that she learns respect and doesn't fixate on the color of people's skin, or that she ignores that part].

Gloria talked about how some people moved to Maryland and had to change schools but got back into Butterfield through the lottery. She shared, “Unas ya se mudaron para Maryland; obvio que cambiaron de escuela, pero supongo que aplicaron en la lotería y sí salió, porque aquí las miraban. [Some moved to Maryland, so obviously they changed schools. But I suppose they applied in the lottery and got in, because I see them here.]” I asked Gloria if middle school options impacted her lottery decision, and she said that she had not given it much thought. She thought it was too early to consider middle school and that maybe third grade would be a good time to start thinking about it.

Gloria had no complaints about Butterfield. She loved the school, she loved the personnel, and she felt she could always ask them if she had a question. She also loved the area of the school and was a member of the Parent-Teacher Union (PTU).

Alejandra. Gloria connected me with Alejandra because they studied together at Estrella. Alejandra was originally from Guatemala and had two boys at Butterfield, one in PK3 and one in second grade. The study year was her family’s third year at the school. Her oldest started in kindergarten. Similar to Gloria, Alejandra was also at Estrella where her oldest son attended pre-kindergarten. When he was ready for kindergarten, she applied to Butterfield via lottery. She did not live in Butterfield’s neighborhood and therefore did not have neighborhood right for kindergarten, but her PK son had sibling preference on his application. Alejandra was also a member of the PTU and liked that she could be involved. She thought Butterfield was very multicultural and diverse. She took two buses to get there and mentioned that it took her about 30 minutes to walk, which she

could do without the kids. She did not know what her neighborhood school was and said that she was not interested in it:

> Mire que ni recuerdo cómo se llama [ríe] la escuela. La verdad no me he interesado mucho en la escuela del área, porque no es la escuela que quiero. A lo mejor ese ha sido uno de los motivos que no me ha interesado mucho en saber sobre la escuela. [Look, I don't remember what the school is called (laughs). The truth is I'm not interested in my neighborhood school because it isn't the school I want. Maybe that is one of the reasons that I haven't been interested in that school.]

When I asked Alejandra how she found out about Butterfield, she told me,

> En realidad, por la lotería. La escogí en el libro, me gustó porque era una escuela interesante, bilingüe, que era lo que yo quería para mis niños, una escuela bilingüe más que todo. Fue una de las primeras opciones que puse en mi listado de 10 escuelas para la lotería. Me quedó esa escuela como en tercer lugar, pero gracias a Dios me llamaron de que había sido aceptado en la lotería. [In reality through the lottery; I found it in the book and I chose it because it's interesting and bilingual; it was what I wanted for my kids—a bilingual school more than anything. This was one of the first options I put in my list of 10 schools for the lottery. This one was my third choice, but thank God they called me that he had been accepted in the lottery.]

Alejandra thought being bilingual was very important for various reasons. She said,

> Porque pienso que es muy importante el manejo de los dos idiomas, o más idiomas desde el pre kínder, pero el inglés y el español me parecen una muy buena opción para mis hijos. En primer lugar, porque mi primera lengua es español, y yo quiero que ellos hablen bien el español y por supuesto manejen bien el inglés y el español, hablen perfecto los dos idiomas para un mejor futuro para ellos, pienso que va a ser mejor. [Because I think the handling of two languages is very important, or more languages from PK, but English and Spanish are great options for my kids. First of all, because Spanish is my first language and I want them to speak Spanish and obviously the dominance of English and Spanish. They speak the two languages perfectly for a better future for them. I think it will be better].

Alejandra knew the middle school connected to Butterfield was Rosewood, but she said that she was not yet concerned about middle school. She liked the idea of continuing the bilingual option (Rosewood has a dual language track), but she planned to do the lottery to choose the right school for her children. Above all, she loved the community at Butterfield, saying, "La comunidad más que todo es una comunidad bien increíble. [The community, above all, is a very incredible community.]" She said she and her husband talked about buying a house in [neighboring area] but that she would be sad to leave the school if they did that.

Luz. Luz was from Argentina and moved back to the United States two years before the study. She and her husband, who was American, bought a house in Butterfield's neighborhood in 2010. They then moved to Argentina. Luz said when they moved back to the United States, "We had to kind of start from the beginning to figure

out what we wanted, and for us, it was non-negotiable that it would be a bilingual education, and we're hoping that it will be a bilingual education with roots." About her return to the neighborhood, she said,

> We didn't really know if our local public school was even an option. When we came back, we were very pleasantly surprised and everybody was telling us, "It's a hidden gem." Bilingual education in [metropolitan area], really? We had no idea. But we did, basically, from abroad that the lottery and everything, because we were residents, we could still do it, and at that time, we had a guaranteed spot for our oldest.

Luz said that if her younger child had not gotten in via the lottery, her family would have stayed another year in Argentina until he could come into kindergarten as his neighborhood school of right. Luz immigrated to Georgia in the U.S. South when she was 14 years old and had a negative experience. She said she was put in different programs, including ESL and then a bilingual strand program. She liked the model at Butterfield, which was a whole school DL, 50:50 model, and thought that was the best way to design a bilingual program. She said the policy at Butterfield was "we don't repeat and we don't translate." Despite her children being in a DL school, she still felt they were losing their Spanish.

When Luz and her husband applied to the PK lottery for their son (their daughter was automatically admitted because it was their neighborhood school-of-right), they were matched, and because they did not match anywhere else, they decided to try it. Luz said she had done some research on bilingual school options and thought Butterfield was the best out there. They did not do the lottery in the year prior to the study, but they did in the

study year. She said her husband did the lottery, and he selected Kingston, a reputable public dual language school, as their first choice. She joked that she hoped they would get a bad number so they would not have to make a decision between the schools. When I asked her about the lottery, she responded,

> The whole thing about the lottery is that the reason why people keep playing the lottery, I mean, my conversations with friends in the neighborhood, it's a middle school problem. Again, I'm very conscious of my privilege of being over and say, "I don't care about test scores." I'm very conscious of that with all the guilt that that entails and everything else, but I pay less attention to—I pay attention, but I place less importance on test scores, and I think that privilege comes with a responsibility to make the schools better, hence, with your local public school and maybe stick with the local middle schools. That's what we're trying, too. We're trying to get a group of Juniper students and Juniper parents, and Butterfield parents to try to support Rosewood and be like, "We're here and we want to stick with you. Let's work together." That's what happens, that it is a gamble, and when you're a parent someone sort of like, "I only have two kids."

When I asked Luz about challenges she and her family had experienced at Butterfield, she replied,

> I think they have a really big challenge, and I don't know how you solve this because it's not just a Butterfield problem, but being able to cater to the different kids' backgrounds, capacities, support they get at home. I'm going to be very blunt; all the White parents are like, "We don't believe in homework." A lot of them are like, "No homework." Including me. I was like, "Homework, are you

> kidding me?" I know, it's ridiculous. But then I started reading more, and I was like, there is more nuance in that. Because some kids from other backgrounds, probably, the homework could save some, and that's why it gives them structure, it gives them a chance sometimes to sit with the parents. Or they need it for some other reason, and they don't get to be creative, do an inventive program and be driven to whatever. I think the school has to cater to all those differences, and it's very hard."

She also said that she was not happy with the aftercare program at Butterfield, so she pulled her kids out to do other activities. She worked for a non-profit organization and had the flexibility to bring her computer with her wherever her children were.

When I asked Luz if there was anything else she wanted to share with me, she said,

> One thing, I have an improvement, I heard it from a parent, that I think they have a hard time or they have a challenge integrating English dominance speaking African American families, and the other part should be the White parents that are non-Spanish dominant. You know, the Latinos tend to be Spanish dominant, that's like 70% or something, and then you have the African Americans. One of Carina's really good friends who used to love coming to Butterfield, like pre-K and K. In first grade, she started to see a difference in her Spanish level compared to the Latino kids, and she felt really bad about her Spanish, is embarrassed about her Spanish and doesn't want to do it; she's like, "I don't want to, I just want to go to an English school." I think they have a challenge keeping African Americans engaged, comfortable, involved, and not pulling out for different reasons that

> parents would pull out, right? I mean, that's a huge generalization, this is all anecdotal. It may be a little bit. I think some of the White parents are more convinced about when the kids get to be bilingual and the value of it. I think some of them—that comes from White guilt. Some of it, it's from really a truth. Some of it may come from, "This is going to make my child more successful in life," and I'm not sure that has reached as much—I just noticed that in the last few months. It hadn't crossed my mind, and I can see where it comes from, and I think it's going to be a challenge for the school, to make everybody really feel included and comfortable with the type of model that they are pushing forward.

After Luz mentioned this information to me, I asked her if she thought her friend would be willing to talk to me. She was, which is how I learned Natalie's perspective.

Natalie. Natalie was the only African American parent I spoke with at Butterfield. She grew up in this metropolitan area and lived in a different neighborhood from Butterfield. Her daughter was in first grade and had started at Butterfield in kindergarten via lottery. Natalie explained her daughter asked to learn Spanish; Natalie did not know that bilingual programs existed before her daughter requested to learn Spanish in school. She attributed this request to the proximity of her daughter's old school (a public charter school) to a bilingual charter school. Natalie said when her daughter expressed interest in Spanish, she looked at the lottery options, found the dual language schools, applied, and was matched with Butterfield. She said, "I had never thought about it before then. I didn't

even know that [this metropolitan area] had the immersion program schools. I went on [the lottery website], and I did a post-lottery submission."

When I asked Natalie what she liked about the school, she mentioned the diversity, saying,

> I love the diversity of the school, that it's not predominantly White, or Latino, or African American; they have a good little mix, even though it is predominantly Latino, but they still have a good mixture. Bailey is, let me see, Bailey is constantly coming home and asking me why does she look different.

Natalie explained that her daughter was exceptionally tall for her age. She also noted that her daughter lacked confidence in Spanish and started complaining during Spanish to go to the nurse and be excused from the class. Natalie said, "…it's been a little struggle. She just kept saying like, 'I want to go to an English school. This is not my language.'" Natalie did decide to do the lottery again during the study year and got a spot at a competitive public charter school and was first on the waitlist at a dual language program in another part of the city, Chestnut Hill. Natalie was concerned that the Chestnut Hill program would be "culture shock" for her daughter because she had been around Latinx people, and Chestnut Hill was predominantly African American. She mentioned bullying at Chestnut Hill as a concern.

I asked her about the role of middle school in her decision to apply to the lottery, and Natalie spoke of Rosewood's capacity and overflow due to the closure of some campuses in the same area:

> Yeah. And so that definitely is a factor. I was even thinking about taking her out of Butterfield and accepting this [spot] and then just getting her a Spanish tutor so that she can still keep up with her programming. But it's not necessarily at school.

She went on to say, “I’m so confused,” and talked about how she wanted her daughter to stay at Butterfield, but it was a long commute, so she wanted to be sure her daughter had “buy-in” because she was the one in school all day.

When I asked Natalie if there was anything additional that she wanted to share with me that I had not asked, she mentioned that she attended the Multilingual Festival where various schools and organizations involved in bilingualism locally set up tables and shared information about their programs:

> I went to the event with the friend that has the daughter at [another bilingual school]. We went together. And I was asking at [well known bilingual schools]. I was like, “You know, why do [you] all set up a table here and get people's hopes up? You know, you all are misleading because you don't offer any spot off of the lottery.” And they was just like, “Well, you just gotta keep applying it.” And I was just frustrated with them cause I was just like, “You know you're not offering any spots off of the lottery.” .I don't know how their system works but I've never—You know, every time I try to talk to somebody, they're like, “oh no, we don't get acceptance.” It's almost as if they just only take their in-boundary kids. And so last year, [the] public schools had the free summer camp. It was a summer school park for five weeks. So I put Maya in that. And so I would go to the administrator every day and just kind of like, “Hey, I'm here.” And they was like, “Sorry.” So I was asking them, like, how does their system work? Because you're

> telling me that you have slots open but only for in-boundary kids. However, no one else is enrolling. At any time do you say, “Okay, well we have these kids on the lottery. You know, we can at least accept ten more children off the lottery?” They was like, “No it doesn't work that way. We only allot a certain amount for lottery. And when that's filled, basically that's all we can do.” But in-boundary always has first priority, and I just felt like that was disheartening. Because if you still have all of these slots open, and they're not being filled, and you can offer additional spots for children but you're not, I just—so once the lottery slots are taken up, then basically that's it. They don't offer any more slots to the children.

Natalie also mentioned that she did not feel as connected to the school because it predominantly embraced Latinx culture. She said, “But I don't feel like—that they're doing as much as that at this school as they do if it was a predominantly African American school.” She mentioned Christmas and the confusion her daughter felt around Santa:

> I wouldn't mind having the Christmas picture with a regular White Santa, with the traditional black boots and not with all of this Hispanic blanket that wraps. My daughter always asks me like, “Mom, why does the Santa Claus look like that?” It's just crazy.

Natalie said she would like to be in the parent-teacher group, but she said that the schedule prevented her from attending. She explained that the meetings were always at 9:00 a.m. and she had to be at work at that time. If they had a call-in number or had evening meetings, she could participate, but explained she did not have flexibility with her work schedule:

> I don't have the flexibility that some of the parents have that aren't working or who are working in like non-profits or working from home. You know, I work for District government, so I have to get here on time and all of that. And so that's just another thing is that the flexibility of the [parent-teacher group], even though I've shared that, they still do it at 8:30, 9:00 in the morning. And I can't make it, so I never hear what's going on. I'm not able to provide a voice, which I definitely would love to. And it's always the same parents who are always participating, and they're all either White or Hispanic parents. So the African American voice is never heard in those [parent-teacher group] meetings because they're having them so early that…I guess other parents are working as well. Or they don't know about it, I don't know.

At the end of our interview, Natalie circled back to her feeling left out as an African American in a predominantly Latinx school. She shared,

> I just want this school to just incorporate a little bit more things. And you know, make other children who are not native Spanish and don't have family members that speak Spanish a little bit more comfortable in their lessons and education. Because my daughter is the one who asked for this. I did not even know about immersion schools. So she is the one who asked for this. And for her to now have this change of mind, it kind of makes you step back and wonder [because] she was so adamant on having this. And now it's like "nah, I don't want it no more, I just wanna go to a regular English school." What flipped that switch over in her mind that made her not wanna participate anymore?

I asked Natalie if she had ever approached the administrators with her concerns, and she said she had not, but she had shared her concerns with the teachers.

Maria. Maria was born in Honduras but grew up in the United States in a community that did not have much diversity (she did not mention where she grew up). She said she was embarrassed of her Spanish until she was in high school and then appreciated her Spanish when it secured her various work positions that required bilingual people, recounting,

> Growing up, I felt like I didn't really want to share that I spoke Spanish because I just felt different compared to everyone in my class because I went to a school that was not diverse, so I was probably the only one that spoke Spanish. It wasn't until I was older when I went to college, maybe high school, not college, I started to see the benefit of speaking Spanish because I was able to work in college and work in positions that were for people that were bilingual.

She said she spoke Spanish to her mother but spoke English to her siblings. She shared her experience with bilingualism, saying,

> When my husband and I had kids, coming to [this metropolitan area], I knew that there were schools that had bilingual education. and I did not, and I still don't, really speak to my kids in Spanish, although I like them to speak Spanish. I think partly because it's almost become a second language to me. I feel like I'm more comfortable now in English even though I understand Spanish. It just doesn't feel natural, I guess. When we were looking for schools, I was like, I want them to be able to speak Spanish, so I wanted them to go to a bilingual school. We looked at all the dual language schools and then we started to basically rank them. We

> would go to the open house and Butterfield became—was at the top of our list because it's literally two blocks from our house. At the time, I'm a stay-at-home mom, so I didn't really factor in travel because I was like "Oh, it's no big deal. It's not like I have to go to work. I can go anywhere." And my husband was like, "No. Location is definitely [a] priority." He's like, "You say you don't care, but when you're sitting in the car with two kids both ways, half hour, it's like it's not worth it." We started talking to other families that were at Butterfield at the time. It was like I wasn't really sure probably because I think when I first came to the city, [the public-school system] just didn't have a great reputation. I just assumed we would probably stick with a charter school, but—we started talking to other people in the neighborhood that were going there, and we went and met with the principal. We toured the school. The school doesn't seem any worse or better than any of the other schools. There's nothing that was scaring us to say we don't want to go to [a public school]. We were like, "we'll see how it is." My husband's always like, "Nothing is permanent. We'll start them in preschool, and if we don't like it, we can always take them out, and if it's really bad, we can always figure it out." My son went there, and we loved his teacher. The whole experience was wonderful and then daughter as well, her teachers were wonderful. I mean, we absolutely love their school.

Maria understood the lottery and the division between languages at Butterfield. She explained the division between languages in the PK lottery, the 60:40 ratio in favor of Spanish speakers, and explained that going to the Spanish waitlist was usually for out-of-boundary families but that there were still neighborhood English-dominant families on

the waitlist for PK. She did not use a language distinction when she applied to Butterfield because she applied to Butterfield before it started the language division in the lottery.

Maria loved the teachers and administration at Butterfield and felt that they were responsive. When I asked her about the challenges at the school, she said,

> I mean, I know it's hard; it's probably an issue with a lot of schools with communication. I think they try their best, but sometimes it is difficult with the communication. I know that everything has to be translated, so that also takes some time. To see some of the demographics at our school, a lot of people don't necessarily use email.

She said the PTU used emails but that the school mostly sent home flyers as communication. She was upset that because her son was sick, she missed the soccer registration flyer that was supposed to come home in his backpack. When I asked her about middle school, she explained that Rosewood had closed down several years ago because it was "so bad." We talked about how it had recently reopened:

> I mean, there's this group of families within the neighborhood that have started to get together and start to build relationships so that we're [sic] all hopefully go in together. I've been watching it, I guess to see how it goes because I know that the education campuses around are going to close down, so all the students that go to North, all the non-dual language schools will also be going there. I'm just kind of watching it to see how it goes. I'm rooting for it. I know that there's a lot of families in the neighborhood that are also interested in seeing how it goes. We hope that we don't have to lottery because I think since we are at a dual language school, I guess it is a guaranteed spot. I mean, we're kind of just watching. I don't

> really know what other school we would want to go to because I'd want them to continue with the language. It'd be nice for them to continue with their friends….

She said if the school situation was really bad, they would probably move and that they did not want to move. When I asked her if she would move within the district, she said, "No, we'd probably move to [a neighboring state]. My husband's family lives in [an affluent county]. He went to Morris White High School, and, so his parents are retired, and they're kind of like, you guys can have our house."

When I asked Maria if she wanted to share anything else with me, she said she just felt lucky that her children had the opportunity to go to a dual language school. She said her sister lived in New York and her children did not have the same opportunity. She said her mother "lights up" when her children speak to her in Spanish, and she felt lucky her children had the opportunity to grow up proud of their Spanish. I asked her if her husband spoke Spanish, and she said,

> No. It's funny because my daughter sometimes will say when I tell her, I speak to her in Spanish, she gets very angry. She's like, "Why are you speaking Spanish?" I'm like, "Oh we've gotta practice. Mommy needs practice. You need to practice." I was like, "Speaking Spanish is important." She says, "Why is it important?" She's like, "Daddy doesn't speak Spanish." She's like, "It can't be that important."

However, Maria said that her husband commented that he was starting to understand the conversations that she had with her mother and that he was picking up the language. She said she was not consistent about speaking Spanish at home because it took more effort and, "I need to survive the day."

Joserie. Joserie was from Puerto Rico and was both a parent and a social worker at Butterfield. She grew up bilingually in New York and wanted her children to be bilingual so they could go to Puerto Rico and communicate with family. She stated, “That was what was important, was that they learn both languages so they can also communicate with some of our family members that don't speak any English, that they can go back and forth to Puerto Rico.”

When I asked Joserie what she liked about Butterfield, she mentioned the diversity, stating,

> You have different languages and cultures and social economical. We have parents who live in one room of a house, but we have other parents who have vacation homes in Portugal. We have some of our families that go to Japan for vacation and some who don't even know what vacation is. That diversity is important to me as a parent because I want my children to understand that their world is so much bigger than that little world that they live in.

She said that with the diversity, there are also a lot of challenges:

> I think that the education is not as vigor [sic] because there's a dual language. Having both languages, you almost have to teach addition here and now teach addition in Spanish. Then, you've got to teach science in English, and then you have to teach science in Spanish. You have to do that constantly, back and forth. I think the trajectory doesn't—because it's not monolingual. I think the other challenge is it's supposed to be 50:50, but it turns out to be more like 70:30.

I asked her to clarify if she meant more Spanish than English, and she explained,

> …more English. English is the prominent language of the country and prominent language of so many people who walk in dual doors. Everybody wants to be accommodating, and no one wants to make people feel uncomfortable. I hear a lot of English being spoken which I wish it was more 50:50. That's one of the other challenges. I think it's also, when it comes as a parent, we do a lot of teaching at home because we find that when you have children who come from different—the diversity also comes with the diversity of learning. There's some times that we have to teach more at home than we really would want to. It's an evil that we accept as a family because what's most important to us is the dual language. If they're not really getting fractions in the third grade, we'll teach them fractions at home. That's the way we look at it because they're getting a benefit that if they were in a more vigorous academic program, they probably won't get the same diversity.

Joserie said that her children were accepted to Butterfield through the lottery. They did not live in the neighborhood, and their neighborhood school was a monolingual school. She felt "blessed" that her son got into Butterfield. He was approximately fifth on the waiting list and pulled up her daughter (who was number 197 on the waitlist) through sibling preference (the son was in PK4 and the daughter in PK3). There was also a preference for school personnel's children in the lottery system. When I asked about the division between Spanish- and English-dominant speakers, she said, "Yes. We're English-dominant, I would say. My mother lives with me, and she's Spanish-only speaking. She's half time with us. My mom only speaks to them in Spanish, and they have to speak back to her in Spanish." I asked Joserie if she remembered how she elected

"Spanish-dominant" during the lottery, but she did not remember (it is also possible, as with Maria, that this distinction happened after her initial lottery experience).

I felt a little anxious in this interview because I had scheduled an interview with Maria for the same day, and the time of that interview was rapidly approaching. I asked Joserie if she had anything additional that she wanted to share with me, and she said,

> I want to say this. As a parent, I don't feel like [the] central office understands dual language at all. I feel like there's a culture that comes with dual language that doesn't—I feel places like Simon Madera and Juniper and Los Gatos, they're closing, but [school name] and Butterfield has a culture, whereas places like [a Montessori dual language charter school] that's dual language or Spanish immersion, it's more like Americans learning Spanish, whereas here it's this Spanish-English immersion. We have students here who don't speak any English, and we have students here who don't speak any Spanish. Then, we have students who came in at the same age as my son, at four years old, only speaking Hindu. He had to learn English and Spanish. We have plenty of those. We have a girl—We have a Japanese student who came in, and all she spoke was Japanese. Now she's learned English, Spanish. We have all that. I don't think other places have that richness per se, where you as a teacher have to deal with a Spanish-speaker not knowing any English or English-speaker not knowing any Spanish and have to negotiate through all of the roles. Then, the cultures that come with it. Being a Muslim, or a Christian, or a Baptist, we have Jewish families in here as well. For Christmas, for example, during December, we have Santa Claus all around the world, something like that. Then, we had mothers and fathers from all these

> cultures coming to each classroom and explain [sic] their own culture and what they do. We have one Black student tell his mom, “We should become Jewish because they get a gift every day.” These are the things that you don't get from other schools. It's just this wonderful richness that you just don't get. I don't think [the] central office understands the culture. I, as [an] administrator, have spent a lot of time and dollars with our immigration [sic] families dealing with deportation, and visas, and all those things. I've been to court several times. I've written testimonials. We have our teachers who are involved as well writing character papers.

Single-Case Research Question #2: How Does the School Administrator at Butterfield Perceive Parent Access to the School’s Dual Language Education Program in Terms of the Lottery System and Neighborhood Access?

Assistant Principal, Filipe. I met Filipe at Butterfield at the conclusion of a school day. He did not have a proper office, so we met in the utility room. Filipe described himself as a Latino male from Miami and also said he was a PhD candidate at the University of Maryland (UMD). Filipe explained how he started at Butterfield, stating that he was recruited for the assistant principal position when he was finishing his coursework at UMD. He had been in the assistant principal position for three years. He explained the program and Butterfield ’s model as a 50:50 split, saying,

> I'm not re-teaching anything. It's not like what you learned in English yesterday; you'll learn in Spanish with me. It's what did you learn in English yesterday, and now you're doing the second lesson with me in Spanish, and we just keep it

> rolling. A lot of people think, like, "Oh, you're just getting 50% of the curriculum." It's, like, "No, you're getting 100% in two different languages."

He also mentioned that all students in the school were learning a language, either English or Spanish, and that some students were learning both languages.

When I asked Filipe about the mechanisms to get into the program, he explained the lottery versus the in-boundary options and the way that students gained access to the program. He explained each dual language administrative team worked with the Office of School Enrollment to create the division of seats in the PK3 and PK4 classrooms. He said at Butterfield, they weighed the lottery more heavily towards Spanish with a 60:40 division between the seats. This division meant that 60% of the seats were reserved for those who put "Spanish-dominant" on their lottery form versus the 40% reserved for the "English dominant." He talked about growing that to 70:30 and eventually 90:10 Spanish-dominant to English-dominant with the idea that as the neighborhood gentrified and the Latinx community was displaced, the school needed a mechanism to ensure access to Spanish speakers to maintain its dual language program. When I asked him about the Spanish/English division, he said,

> Yes. They weigh in more towards Spanish than English, the idea being that as the community is gentrified and the price of housing here has skyrocketed, the traditional Latino community has been displaced to other parts of the city. If we don't give that preference, we can't pull from out-of-boundary and we won't be able to maintain two-way immersion. Part of the way that we staff our program is our ELL grants us a certain number of ESL teachers. It's those teachers that we use to do the Spanish components; we don't actually have any ESL program.

Filipe spoke about access to the school and mentioned that he knew of at least one family that sold their address. He said,

> A lot of people have a sibling preference. Our gentrifying parents, we have what I call our pioneer kids, who have actually started in pre-K and we finally have our first set of kids in third and second grade that are that gentrifying family [sic] who stayed. You're seeing them going to the higher grades, but I would say 80% maybe even 90% pull out from that first grade.

I asked him why that was, if families decided to leave, and he replied,

> Yes, they tried to get to Mar Brillante and keep trying to lottery into Morado [a popular dual language school], and they've tried to lottery into other schools, [international charter], these nicer schools, and so our population is still split between the younger kids and the older kids. If you go to our fifth grade, you won't see any signs of gentrification whatsoever.

Filipe provided me with a brief background of Butterfield. He talked about the mix of the African American and the Latinx populations and how those populations were the focus of the school, saying,

> We don't do like a concerted, “Let's all, let's try to keep our gentrifying—.” We actually probably do more work on keeping our traditional families than our gentrifying families. Just because that was what the school is built for. Butterfield’s dual language program was started I would say almost 20 years ago with the idea that this influx of Salvadorian immigrants was coming in; they wanted a school. [Lake Drive], which is the building that we're in, was traditionally when it was first opened in 1916 an all-White school.

Filipe also mentioned the charter-friendliness of the city:

> I also think that a big issue is the city in being so charter-friendly takes on more charter approaches. They try to make everything as cookie cutter as possible. They try to make their principles cookie cutter, their programs cookie cutter, and just….They've made an 'effort' of saying, "We're going to fight for equity," but when I push back on them about their definitions about saying, "We need to fight institutional inequities," and I push back saying, "You are the institution, you have all the power to not do the things you do. You have all the power to do all the pushback and to change absolutely everything, so why are you pretending you're not the institution?" They don't like that, but that's one of the problems is that they are the institution and they refuse to acknowledge that. They don't focus enough on social-emotional needs, like the fact that—the power of putting a washer and dryer at every school so that people have a place to wash their clothes for free or something, or the power of connecting with mental health services, or having more robust partnerships with police so if there's issues they know how to deal with children as opposed to adults. All these things, it's kind of put on the backburner for the sake of testing. Their test scores might go up, I know they'll celebrate their 2% growth, externally; it seems gross to me, but I get you have to play a political game. Internally, they celebrate themselves also, which is silly. They want to be able to send the right political message without actually doing the hard work. Right now focusing on like—there's no data on what the summer melt is. How many of the kids that get into college actually end up in college after that first summer? How many district graduates are actually graduating college? How

> many are coming back to [this metropolitan area]? Especially your low-income kids to help those communities. How many of the new businesses popping up are you making sure are Black- or brown-owned? There's all these things that trickle into the education system that [this district] is not doing.

When I asked Filipe if there was anything else he wanted to share with me, he mentioned the inequities in material resources for dual language schools. He said they received many English books, but nothing in Spanish. He explained he thought there was no real attempt to understand dual language within [the public-school system], such as testing scores being lower at first but then rising. He mentioned that there were no local studies to look at the longitudinal effects of DL but that instead the district was focused on what was "hot and new." In Filipe's opinion, the district equated DLE with Spanish/English. He gave the example of a new DL school in a primarily African American community that provided a one-way Spanish immersion program for African American students. He said,

> This idea that we're going to plop—like with [this school], it's in a predominantly African American community—we're going to make it into a language school. It's going to be Spanish dual language. Now, you have to try to attract Spanish speakers to a community that's not historically filled with Spanish speakers that want to work with a community that's not necessarily Spanish. It's going to be hard, right?mAs a Latino male, you're going to want to say, "I want to help the people I grew up with; I want to work with the Latino students; I understand their experience." It's going to be harder for me to convince somebody come help all the African American students learn Spanish when I can say, there's all these

> Latino students that also need somebody. Like, why? It's a weird conversation to have. It's like, why did they decide Spanish for—It's hard to see it as any other reason than that's what dual language is, that's what we know.

I asked about how Butterfield engaged African American families at the school, and Filipe responded,

> We try to. There's a historic African American community in [this area] that was displaced a lot by the Latino community, so there's tensions there. We try. We're always asking how we can attract more African American families to the program because you can do it. It doesn't matter, skin color, where you're from, you can learn another language. We also know it's not always what's best for everybody. We get a lot of students that come in third, fourth, and fifth [grades] who are African American, and they struggle because they don't know how to deal with a dual language program. They're a minority, but even a different type of minority now because they're a language minority, too. It's a struggle. It's a struggle also with our teachers who—the majority of our Spanish speaking teachers are not from the U.S. They don't understand U.S. race relations. They don't understand what racism looks like here, how things can be perceived, cultural aspects. Those are battles that we have. I conduct trainings with teachers around cultural sensitivity, culturally responsive pedagogy, and things like that, and it's helped, but we don't do a good job with our African American students. Nobody in the city does. I would say that, yes, you need to have everybody access…dual language programs, and they're good for everybody, but there's this misconception that dual language means Spanish/English. I never understood

> why. There's tons of languages. You could easily staff an Amharic dual language school. Maybe not easily, but you could staff it. You could do a French school. You could try to do one in Swahili if you're really trying to do something different.

I was curious about the families Filipe mentioned who come into the school in later grades, and he explained that he did the greetings and tours for all these families. They had the chance to sit in a classroom to get a glimpse of what it was like in the Spanish immersion program. He said he talked with them after the visit and asked them to

> consider whether or not you want them to go all the way through. Because if you do, it's going to be hard. You're going to see a drop in their grades. You're going to see all that stuff, but eventually, they'll pick up the language. It only takes about 7 years. If you plan on not going through it even through middle school, don't start.

Single-Case Research Question #3: How Do Perceptions of Access and Choice Vary Between the Parents in Butterfield and the Administrator?

Filipe mentioned the different ways that families could access the program: through the neighborhood and through the lottery. Filipe explained that the lottery access in PK was weighed more heavily towards Spanish-speakers (60:40) because the school needed to maintain language balance, and as the neighborhood gentrified, more English-speakers were entering through neighborhood access. Some of the Spanish-speaking families were from out-of-boundary areas, whereas the English-speaking families were primarily neighborhood families.

All Butterfield families who participated in the study accessed the school through the lottery, with the exception of Luz, whose son had neighborhood right as a kindergartener and whose daughter was admitted to Butterfield in PK through sibling and neighborhood preference. Gloria also mentioned families moving away but that she saw them around Butterfield, so they must have still attended the school. Both Gloria and Alejandra attended the Estrella school, which was how they heard about the program at Butterfield. Natalie did not know about DLE options until her daughter expressed interest, leading Natalie to apply through the lottery.

Perceptions of access were largely similar between these stakeholders, in the sense that some had neighborhood access and preference while others used the lottery to gain access from out-of-boundary.

Central Office Personnel

Single-Case Research Question #4: How Do District Personnel in the Offices Relevant to Dual Language Programs Perceive and Articulate Parent Access to These Programs and the Role of Equity in Parent Access?

The district office personnel I contacted and interviewed for this component of my study were suggested to me by my contact Isabel. These personnel all worked in offices that had a role and connection to DLE within the school district. I interviewed one person within each of these offices, with the exception of the Office of Bilingual Education, in which I interviewed two people, including my contact, Isabel. Per my study design, I requested two interviews with each of these people, one at the beginning of my research and another at the conclusion, with one exception (more information about this exception is provided later). In the first interview I conducted with each person, I

gathered information about their professional experiences; office initiatives, including their relation to DLE within the district; and their perceptions of access and equity. The second interview I conducted with each person focused on issues that came up in my interviews with parents and the school administrators. I did not request a follow-up interview with personnel in the Welcome Office, part of the Office of Bilingual Education, due to the nature of that office. While all the requested second interviews were granted, one of the district officials left her position and therefore did not complete the second interview. Table 15 details the offices interviewed.

Table 15

District Level Participants

Participating district offices	Number of participants	Number of interviews
Office of School Planning and Enrollment	1	2
Office of Family and Public Engagement	1	2
Office of Bilingual Education	2	3
Office of Equity	1	1
Totals	5	8

Office of Equity.

Deputy Chief of Equity, Carolyn. I scheduled two interviews at the district's central office in one day to make most efficient use of time. When I arrived for my interview with Carolyn, the deputy chief of equity, she was not in her office. I received an email from her that said she was working from home and would be available for a phone interview. I sat in her office to call her and took notes on my computer as we talked. I did not record our conversation. She did agree to a follow-up interview, but when I later requested it, she informed me that she was leaving the district.

At the time of our interview, Carolyn said she had spent 10 years in the central office. She explained she started as a contractor for [name of organization], which was "intentionally" housed in the district's office to tailor needs to the district. In this role, she also did after-school work with public schools and the public charter schools. In this capacity, she did the recruiting, training, and building position for the programs. She said she then transitioned to another office and was the deputy chief of talent acquisition, in which role she processed hires for the entire district. She told me she had been in her current position as deputy chief of equity for a little over a year, which was part of a re-organization. When I asked her about her office and its work, she talked about the lack of authentic conversations and the inequities in human capital and promoting and retaining staff. She talked about the three "buckets" that she worked on, including work involving students of color, equity professional development, and the program "Courageous Conversations" (equity professional development and "Courageous Conversations" were open to all central office and district staff, including school staff). She said that all school leaders received a two-hour introductory session to "Courageous Conversations." She

also talked about the establishment of a district level equity plan and shared the equity framework with me, which she described as the "North Star."

When I asked specifically about the office's work related to dual language, Carolyn talked about inequities in terms of teachers and staffing. She said it was hard to recruit native speakers of Spanish and that there were barriers to non-native English speakers being licensed because teachers were required to pass an exam in English. (To address this issue, the local district agreed to accept Puerto Rican licensure.) She explained the district also had an exchange program with Spain, but in some cases the cultural differences made retention of these Spanish teachers difficult. Carolyn mentioned these problems for teachers of color and non-native English speakers. She also said that world language and dual language teacher slots were the hardest to fill, and she acknowledged that these slots were not the same. She also talked about an ethnic studies course that the district piloted in the spring, modeled after a San Francisco district class, and the positive effect of its coursework on student engagement and graduation rates. Regarding the district-wide equity plan, she said that equity had to be infused and that it did not refer to just a mindset training. She said that one had to look at policies, practices, cultures, and leaders promoting behaviors that lead to better outcomes for students, as opposed to a "culture of fear." She said all schools should have an "equity stance," by which she meant a sort of statement or language around how they address equity. Carolyn also acknowledged the EL population in the district was one that had not been "fully served" by the local public-school system. She said the district focused on ELs, students with disabilities, and sexual and gender minority students because those were where the areas the district saw the most gaps in academic achievement. She also talked about

"activating knowledge of national origin" and that some, not all, students may speak languages other than English.

Office of Bilingual Education.

Specialist, Language Access, Amelia. I met with Amelia per Isabel's recommendation. Amelia worked in an office that was part of the Office of Bilingual Education (OBE), as a resource for families new to the district who speak a language other than English at home. She said she had a personal connection to this work because she was an EL student and her first language was Spanish. She talked about equity in the sense of the legal requirement to provide language access to families who did not speak English. She explained, "So the schools must take steps to ensure that that family is included in the [school district] processes, programs, activities, that these families are not excluded because of the language barrier."

Amelia said the referral of these families to her office depended on the school referring the family as an EL family. The student was screened to check eligibility for services, and her office provided a mini orientation to the family to tell them about the educational services. She said,

> In the results letter that they got after the kid is screened…it describes all the different ESL models and programs. There is a brief description of the dual language program. Now if the parent actually reads the results letter in its entirety, I don't know, but we do tell them about those options. I will say though, the fact of the matter is that there are not that many seats, so we don't also want to oversell the program for which there are a limited number of seats.

Amelia explained that most of the families referred to her office were Spanish speakers but that over 120 languages and dialects are represented in this school district. She said the Welcome Center partnered with local organizations, such as legal services, for example. If the student was older, they received information about the "international academies" at local high schools. Amelia explained these campuses were matches if the students had interrupted education or were low-level in English. As far as DLE spots, she said sometimes school leaders would let her office know if there was a spot open during the school year. Amelia said that most ELs lived in areas where there was a DLE school, but "it's just that there are no spots in those schools." I asked if her office kept track of requests for DLE, but she said her office did not track demand for DLE.

Amelia told me that the perceptions about schools were important to new arrivals. She said new families heard from neighbors about schools and then did not want to attend because of the perception of violence or for another reason. Amelia told me that the newcomer connection with her office was a one-time occurrence, although her office might send families emails about workshops or upcoming events. She said if she heard about a trauma in her conversations with families, she would email the school counselor.

As a way to promote and improve equitable access for EL students to DLE, Amelia mentioned the possible implementation of a test for English proficiency. For example, if the student were a level one or two (low-level English proficiency), then they would have priority for a DLE program.

Bilingual Program Officer, Isabel, First Interview. I have known Isabel since 2010 when I started teaching at Juniper. At the time of our interview, Isabel had worked for the district for 14 years and was the bilingual program officer. She began her career as a bilingual kindergarten teacher in the South-Central Los Angeles Unified School District before teaching in other areas of California and New Mexico. When she moved to the area where this study took place, she first took a job as a dual language coach and then replaced her supervisor when that person left. Isabel provided technical assistance for the dual language schools and spoke to principals about hiring, dual language models, and assessments. She also conducted professional development for DL teachers and said of her role in the district, "You know, anything that can sort of overcome some of the hurdles of being bilingual programs in a monolingual district will often fall on me."

I asked her about her office's priorities for dual language, and she explained that her office was a Title III funded office, which meant that it did not receive any local funds. She said the office's overall responsibilities were "ensuring that language learning kids get access to grade level curriculum and develop English language proficiency." She explained,

> [Within the] umbrella mandates, dual language programs are an ESL service delivery model because they do give language learning kids access to the curriculum and they help develop their English language proficiency. So it's a bit of an unusual situation though because only about 50% of the kids within dual language are language learners and the other 50% are English dominant.

She spoke about the "funding conundrums" this situation created because the funds for her office were for English learners. Her office was trying to figure out how to fund programs that were dual language but without large EL populations.

I asked Isabel about the DL schools creating their own balance of English/Spanish dominant students for PK programs, and she talked about which model (90:10 versus 50:50) showed better results. She said the 90:10 models showed better results in the long term, but in the short run, students performed better on standardized tests if they were in 50:50 programs, so the district had mostly 50:50 models because they got better short-term results. She mentioned some "brave" principals who were implementing full immersion programs in early childhood, including kindergarten. She said,

> So there's been a little bit of tension around this in that we would like to encourage schools to have more Spanish and sort of the trust that in the long run this is going to be good for kids. That being said, like most urban districts, we're a district that sets a lot of short goals and measures progress on a yearly basis.

I asked Isabel if there was a push to give more access to DL programs to Spanish speakers, and she said yes. She spoke about how all the public schools were boundary schools, so if families lived within the schools' boundaries, those families had a right to attend those schools. Isabel also talked about the concern that as neighborhoods gentrified, Latinx families were no longer living there. With these neighborhood changes, the one "point of control" that the principals had was to offer the majority of the early childhood seats to Spanish-dominant families as a way to offset the predominantly English-speaking families who came in when the neighborhood opened for kindergarten enrollment. She gave the example of Morado saving 90% of its early childhood seats for

Spanish-dominant families. Isabel said that she, her office, and the dual language school principals frequently discussed who the dual language programs were for and how they defined "Spanish-dominant." She said they had a lot of conversations about who the programs were for and how to use the systems in place to provide equity for families, but school leaders have autonomy in their models and each school's linguistic divisions. In some cases, the model depended on the teacher capacity at the school. At Juniper, for example, the preschool teachers were English-speaking and the aides were the ones who provided Spanish instruction, but likely not in a consistent programmatic way, as their role was more limited.

I asked Isabel about providing seats for EL students based on their levels of English proficiency, and she said that was an idea that the office was thinking about implementing. She said, "We know that these programs are the best placement for them. Like it's an educational necessity versus enrichment." Isabel told me that when a child entered the district mid-year, they were automatically assessed by her office, but when entering school in early childhood, children were placed first and then assessed, which was why each school had different percentages of Spanish- and English-dominant students.

I asked Isabel about the turnover of families out of DLE after PK, and she said she heard from principals about families who were in dual language for early childhood education, but once those families got a spot at their neighborhood school, they moved there. She thought that "for some families, it's not so much a commitment to learning in two languages. It's more commitment to like, 'I want a good preschool for my kids and I've heard good things about Ramona.'" She said she thought the parents were just

making the best decisions they could and that "it's our responsibility as the system to make sure that disenfranchised communities aren't handicapped by not necessarily knowing how to play the game."

I asked Isabel about the biggest challenges in DLE, and she said, "Where to start." She thought the lack of funding and the fact there was no actual budget for dual language were some of the biggest challenges. She said that schools had to be creative and explained the need for additional staff that was not reflected in a funding model. She said,

> But I think like bigger and broader, it's just this idea of running bilingual schools in a monolingual district. So there's like all the assessments are geared for the English-speaking learning experience. All the texts and the program, the model, even guided reading—guided reading is a strategy to learn to read in English. It's not particularly effective for Spanish, but like that's a mandate from the District. So there are a lot of these sort of mismatch initiatives or priorities that make absolute sense for an English only school or district, but need some massaging for dual language. So we spend a lot of time trying to change the business rules of assessments, trying to remind the math team to order [a] Spanish language math text.

Isabel also talked about the challenge of demand versus supply of seats. She said there was a lot of parent interest but not enough staff to expand the way the office wanted to.

I asked Isabel about the strand programs versus the whole school programs, and she said she was largely in favor of the whole school programs. She said the initial data the office had showed that students in whole school programs showed greater academic growth than students in strand programs. However, she also said that "dual language has

become synonymous with gentrification in some schools." She said there was tension and gave the example of a school where some parents did not want their children to learn Spanish. For example, she explained in some predominantly African American schools in the district with strand programs, the African American population had pushed back against the DLE model. In some cases, parents' relatives went to those schools before they implemented DLE programs, and in other cases, parents did not want, or see the necessity, for their children to learn Spanish. She stated,

> For me, one of the arguments in favor of whole school programs has always been that in strands, we start to see this racial and socioeconomic divide where more middle income, middle and higher SES families tend to choose dual language and the lower SES families don't for some reason. So our idea was like, if the whole thing is dual language, then everybody gets that opportunity.

Isabel spoke of Juniper and said that she had a conversation with the principal about the African American families leaving as the school transitioned to a whole school model. She said the big lesson for her was that "we as a District are not doing enough outreach to certain communities and say this program is a good option for any child." She spoke about how the DL programs were not only for the White gentrifiers and Latinx immigrants but also for members of different socioeconomic levels, African Americans, and Asians. She said because the programs came up "grassroots," the district did not anticipate DL was going to be the big issue that it was. She said in the next couple of years, her office would look at how to communicate that DL was a "good opportunity for every kid." She said that the African Americans in DL programs were the strongest proponents of them but that there was still misinformation in the community and a

perception of these programs as being for Spanish-speaking and White families. She explained the challenge was that there were not enough seats to meet demand and that the central office could interpret her office's outreach as "selling something that we don't have to offer." However, Isabel said that certain communities were very aware of these programs and had found ways to get their children admitted, which created an inequity of access. She said it worked better in situations where, as at Juniper, people just stopped enrolling in the English-only program, so the district opened more dual language seats.

I asked Isabel about the lack of resources per my conversation with Filipe at Butterfield, and she said that it was a very common occurrence that programs did not get the resources they needed because of high turnover in the offices that processed these orders, such as procurement, for example, which ordered books. She said frequently, a school established a good relationship with someone in another office, but then that person would leave. She explained the situation was not malicious; it was just that her office was left out of the loop. She said a lot of responsibility falls on principals to be advocates for their programs. She said that schools did not tell her office when they were ordering books, so her office did not know how to alert the procurement office that "Hey, these 11 schools are dual language schools."

I asked Isabel if she had anything else she wanted to share, and she said that because there was so little access to DL, it pitted communities against each other, instead of what DL should be about, which is learning and appreciating other cultures. She said there were not enough programs but that the district could not just open more because it was not resourced, or funded, or staffed sufficiently, so it was a "Catch 22." Isabel said that there were certain organizations that advocated for "equity of access," such as more

programs in [certain neighborhoods], but that there were many Latinx families in [another neighborhood] that wanted to get into a dual language program, but their neighborhood school did not offer a dual language program. She thought there needed to be belief and advocacy at the top because the worker bees saying, "we really believe in this" were always going to be "hitting against the window." She said she could not tell me how many times she heard those in positions of authority within the district system say that "half our kids can't read in English. Why would we teach them to read in Spanish?" She continued,

> And it's like, because they can't read in English. We've got to give them something that's going to transform their lives because, anyways—so I think there's some skepticism in the District about the value and again, it's all intertwined. Like, maybe there's some skepticism because we don't have the systems in place because we don't have the funding in place that get these. If we were resourcing our schools the way Portland does and were able to develop the systems for the teacher pipelines, the career ladder, for aids, the curriculum development, like all those things just make people go, like, this is easy, this a good program. [According to the district's website, Portland uses DLE programs as a way to close the achievement gap, particularly for EL students who fall behind other students in academic achievement and graduation rates.]

Bilingual Program Officer, Isabel, Second Interview. I spoke to Isabel a bit about how to find parents who did not have access to the DL programs and the challenges of that, particularly in the current political climate of fear. I asked her about the schools that have high EL populations and why they are not DL schools. She told me that she thought there was a "growing awareness" of DL among high EL population schools, and she gave the example of a school offering science in Spanish in PK, K, and first grade for the next school year. She said,

> We have been told, specifically, don't go out and try to educate the community. You can't meet the demand that's there already, and I think what that's meant is that our leaders don't know about dual language either. And frankly, the fact that we have very few, it's hard to run a dual language school. I think a lot of our supports and systems are not there. I don't know, if you're running a [district] school, why would you choose to make it dual language unless you really, really believed in the value of dual language?

I asked Isabel if it was a principal-level decision to have a DL program at a school, and she confirmed this. She said while it was great to see African American children at [a particular DL school] learning Spanish, all those resources, such as the time and energy that spent supporting that model, were not spent assisting a school with a high Latinx population to have a DL program.

Isabel told me that she would have a meeting the following day with Barbara, from the enrollment office, because Isabel and the DL principals were trying to standardize entrance into the DL programs. She said, for example, that even though the lottery requires parents to identify if their children are Spanish-dominant, some schools

were doing a really rigorous screening, while others did not do a screening at all, which created a problem in equitable access. She said that in her discussion with the principals, they talked about wanting to target English learners so the programs would qualify as an ESL service delivery model. To accomplish this change, they thought they might shift the language on the lottery application from "Spanish-dominant" to "Spanish-speaking EL," meaning everyone else would become part of the "other" category. She talked about how "Spanish-speaking EL" would be a narrower group of students than "Spanish-dominant" had been, and her office could test the "Spanish-speaking EL" students not to prioritize their Spanish level but to prioritize whether the student is an EL learner "in an effort to make sure that we're still getting ELLs into the program." Isabel noted that the downside of this new language would be that bilingual students, "your kids and my kids," would be in the large pool with all the monolingual English-speaking students because they would not be considered English learners given their English proficiency. She spoke about her mixed feelings about this initiative and that another solution would be to have more DL programs.

Isabel said her office was "always trying to figure out how to ensure access to the Latino community, English learner community, how to keep that linguistic balance." She gave the example of different leaders implementing different policies, such as Morado Elementary School turning away bilingual students because the school would rather enroll ELs, Ramona taking anyone if they had some Spanish abilities, and other schools that did not test children that applied as Spanish dominant. Isabel mentioned a parent who went on a "blog rant" against Morado, threatening to sue the school because of discrimination, which led to the district trying to qualify the purpose of the two lotteries. I

asked her if access could be income-based, and she said that the district could not do that unless it was in a HeadStart type of model. She said the district could not look at income or race and that "we can look at language until somebody calls us out on it." She repeated that a solution would be to have more programs so everyone could get in, but she did not know if that was going to happen.

Isabel said implementing more programs felt impossible right now; she said the district could not even manage to implement Spanish DL programs even though they "know how to do Spanish." She explained she was referring to how difficult it was to attract high-quality Spanish-speaking teachers, let alone try to merge a DL curriculum with the district's initiatives. We talked about the possibility of implementing other programs and languages, and she said she would like to look at other communities, such as Los Angeles, with programs that are low incidence language (small group of speakers) because of response to community. She wondered if families might enroll in other language programs because of proximity or cognitive benefits even if the language was Armenian, for example.

Isabel mentioned a meeting she had with a new multilingual coordinator about how different the charter world was in reference to doing professional development training with principals. Isabel mentioned that charters could hire someone for their vision, whereas the public-school district hiring was mandated by the central office. She described how challenging it was to bring in a quality program as something new to an existing school. I mentioned the name of Juniper and talking to families who thought it was Juniper Bilingual and were surprised and confused when they got into English only. She said that she confronted the principal about that because of the English only strand,

but the principal said that all kids were learning language. She said it was “really a misnomer.” She talked about Juniper switching to a whole school program at which point the name will no longer be an issue. I asked about families walking in to register and being assigned to a program without being asked if they preferred EO or DLE, and she said it used to be a bigger problem but now placement was through the lottery. She gave the example of a school where the secretary, who was African American, would put the students into each program based on their last name—Latinx names, dual language, English sounding, EO.

I asked Isabel about access to the DL program at Juniper for students after first grade through the assessment test even though the school is a neighborhood school-of-right. She said the students did have to take a test, but if they had some Spanish ability, they would likely pass and that even though there were likely students in the program that were a year or two behind, those would pass. However, Isabel explained that a fourth grader with kindergarten-level Spanish would probably not pass because that would be considered too far below grade level. She said her office wanted to be sure that students going into the program could access the curriculum and that it also wanted to be sure that the programs were not overwhelmed with too many new students who did not speak Spanish. I mentioned the example of a Juniper parent who wanted to see if her daughter could test into dual language after a summer of Spanish, and Isabel said that there was someone in the central office who was very opposed to the cutoff point. This person told Isabel that Isabel “didn’t believe in the malleability of the young brain.” Isabel explained that she did believe that children could learn language at any point, but that it was different with understanding math 100% in a language the child did not understand.

Isabel mentioned that this conversation had led her office to identify a school that could be a late-entry model. This option would be good for a parent who wanted a child to start DL in third grade. I asked her about a designated school for newcomers, such as existed at Juniper when I taught there. She said that such students

> essentially go to Rosewood or Morado. That's one thing though, for late entry, is that if you are a language learning kid, if you are a level one or a level two, you don't need to take any tests, doesn't matter if you're literate, whatever. You will go into dual language if you want to.

I asked about whether newcomers had to live in the school's neighborhood, and she said yes, but not always. She said the intake center would sometimes call to tell her about the incoming students and ask if any schools had vacancies. Isabel said she would call the principals and that the principal at Morado has taken many newcomers. She said her office tried to place the students in DL if possible, but sometimes the parents did not want their children to attend a school that was not close to their home. She did acknowledge the tracking perception that could result with all newcomers being in one class, but she also thought this was a better alternative than the lone newcomer in a class without any services.

Isabel mentioned another equitable access issue that had come up at two dual language schools. She talked about Latinx family access to enrichment and remediation programs, such as summer school and after-school programming. She gave the example of Juniper and the sign-up process for after-school programming. She explained the sign-up opened at 10:00 a.m. and closed at 6:00 p.m. and that the schools were required to have a laptop and have the staff help the community sign up. Isabel said the principal at

Juniper explained that she reminded families about the sign-up process and that the English-speaking families said they could sign-up from home, from work, and on their computers or laptops. The principal said that on the sign-up day, there were 50 Latinx families lined up at 10:00 a.m. to use the laptops at the school to sign up, but they all were waitlisted because the "upper income" families went online on their own and registered first. Isabel said Simon Madera had the same issue with summer school sign-up, and she connected these examples to equity because she said that they speak to beliefs around equity:

> Our systems are not set up to provide equity because our systems are designed by people who are middle income and educated, so we think that way. So it's more accessible for people who are similar to the people who are writing the system, as opposed to if we honestly wanted equity.

We talked about how there could be a criterion or a lottery as ways to make access more equitable. Isabel mentioned the EL population as the fastest growing population in the district in the last few years with 7-11% growth and how significant that was considering the whole district had only grown 2% in that period. However, she thought the EL population "is always an afterthought." She gave the example of California where documents had to be sent in Spanish and English while in this city, it was only "critical documents" that needed to be translated. Plus, she said, "half the time, people don't even know that they have to translate critical documents."

I asked Isabel what she would be working on over the summer, and she said that she heard that DL will be a priority and that there was interest in formalizing systems of support. She said the district would standardize the early-childhood lottery so that all

schools would be looking for the same things with the same procedures. She explained that due to the re-organization of the district offices, DLE will group with world language, saying, “It's a concern, that we could have our attention diverted as we become looked at as more of a world language.” We also talked a bit about why families choose schools with DL programs, and Isabel brought up the idea of choosing a school because it is DL or because it is a high-performing school, explaining it could be the same with choosing the teacher.

Office of Family and Public Engagement.

Manager, Noah, First Interview. Noah declined to be recorded for his interview but did not mind my note taking. Noah was a graduate of the local school district and attended Morado Elementary, Hobbs Middle School, and Smith High School. He had a son that attended Ramona Elementary School, which was a public bilingual school and his neighborhood school. Noah had worked at the central office for 10 years, having started working there after college. He began his career in the branch of central office that focused on family services, parent workshops, English classes, parent meetings, and the referrals of families to local agencies. He also worked in the “Early Stages” office, which focused on 3- to 5-year-old children and provided training for daycare providers and doctors to teach them screening, early-identification, and in-depth evaluation techniques for learning disabilities and other issues.

From there, Noah got involved with the Office of Family and Public Engagement, focusing on community action as a community liaison. This work happened on the heels of school closures under a controversial school chancellor, and the district had to make an effort to rebuild trust, develop partnerships, and resolve multiple lawsuits. Noah told me

that at that time, there had been a need to promote the district and hold it accountable; otherwise, students would leave to go to public charter schools. He talked about the office's efforts to add community liaisons in different communities, about "meeting communities where they are," and about being very intentional in that sense.

Noah worked in this community liaison role for about three years before he took the manager role just over a year before our interview. Noah explained that each section of the district was assigned one liaison to support schools and work with them on community engagement. The district had about 15-20 new principals per year who needed to know community dynamics, and Noah explained his office provided them with the historical knowledge of these communities. His office provided new principals with several resources, such as information regarding the existing challenges facing the community; "community at a glance" sheets; and rosters of information about the neighborhood, local organizations, and email lists.

Noah's office also organized targeted parent focus groups. For example, in the prior year, they organized one focus group for formerly incarcerated parents and another for undocumented Spanish-speaking parents. He explained that the district required fingerprinting of its volunteers and that because these fingerprints were kept in an FBI database and the district could not guarantee how this data would be used, this requirement made both of these groups vulnerable. He also talked about the "feedback loop," describing how his office engaged with the community, brought community feedback into office discussions, made decisions, and then told the community of the office's decision.

In terms of equity, Noah discussed parent-teacher organizations at the DL schools. He said they tended to be White and affluent, which might not appeal to immigrant families. He said there was a "Parent Café" [at Ramona], which was geared towards immigrant families, but he said overall, there are still separate parent communities.

Manager, Noah, Second Interview. Noah agreed to meet with me for a second interview and still preferred not to be recorded. I asked about his son, which led us into a natural transition to talk about choice around feeder schools and his middle school options, which came up in many of my interviews with parents. He said that his family was eligible for two feeder schools, Hobbs and Rosewood. He thought Rosewood would be in a "good place where people are sending their kids there" by the time his son was ready to attend (his son was in first grade at the time of our interview). He did say that he thought some families were at his local elementary school not for the dual language program but because they wanted to feed into Hobbs Middle and Smith High School.

Noah thought the district largely underestimated how early parents started thinking about middle school and mentioned there were no clear feeder path/programmatic models. For example, he mentioned another elementary school that fed into Rosewood that was not a DLE school, even though Rosewood has a strand DLE program. Noah said he thought the district would address the middle school question in 2022 when it was scheduled to re-draw school district boundaries, but he thought it was "never too early to start" the middle school conversation. He mentioned one neighborhood in which the community said, "We don't have a middle school" because their option was unacceptable to them. Noah said that this particular community was not

committed to its middle school and that there was “not the appetite” for change there. He also mentioned another area of the city where there was a community working group because of over-crowding in its area schools. He said that the situation was made difficult because there were schools in other parts of the district that were empty.

Noah also said that middle school was the time when the public schools were “hemorrhaging kids to charters” and that although there was an awareness of the challenges of middle school, there was no comprehensive city-wide movement or stance on it. He told me that the enrollment office worked with individual schools on “vertical alignment,” but there are no broad conversations about middle school—only pockets of conversation. Noah said he thought the middle school conversation was most successful when it started with families, more of a grassroots effort, versus at the district level. He said at the district level, it took money and effort, but he acknowledged it was not fair to place the whole burden on families. Noah speculated that many parents were themselves students of the public school system when it was not great in quality; then he said, “it still isn’t great,” but thought people held on to their own experiences and that these perceptions were hard to change.

I asked Noah about engagement and maintaining families in a system with a common lottery for both the public schools and the public charter schools. He acknowledged this could be confusing and gave an example of a school even he did not know whether it was charter or public (it is a charter). He emphasized that the public-school system was a “system of right” and has feeder schools, whereas the charter system was not the same kind of system and did not have feeder schools. Noah also said I should ask the enrollment office this question.

In relation to equitable access, I mentioned the case of Consuelo, at Juniper, who thought her daughter was enrolled in DL when she was actually in the EO program. He mentioned twice that he was surprised by this situation and that he had never heard of this misalignment happening. Noah talked about the "back-end" of the lottery and that families could enroll in a school without understanding it was a DL school. He mentioned the community liaisons that worked with the communities with one liaison per two wards. He said he used to work in Title I enrollment and that in that role, he literally enrolled families in schools in person. He talked about the idea of electronic enrollment and that the public-school system might move to this method, or at least have optional electronic enrollment. He said they would first pilot this option and maybe make electronic enrollment an option in addition to paper enrollment.

I asked Noah what his office would work on over the summer and what its forthcoming priorities were. Because there was a new chancellor at the time, his office was merging with the Office of Communications, but Noah said his role would not change. He said his office's big issues are rebuilding trust and transparency with communities, being "on the ground," and building relationship with families. Noah also revisited the concept of the feedback loop because he said the district struggles with going back out to the community for feedback after decisions have been made. For example, the district would get feedback from stakeholders on an issue, have internal meetings, make decisions, and roll them out, but without feedback on the internal conversations. His office wanted to work on "continuing the conversation" with the families and communities.

Office of School Planning and Enrollment.

Enrollment Specialist, Barbara, First Interview. Isabel connected me with Barbara because she thought that the perspective of someone from the Office of School Planning and Enrollment would be a fit for my study. Barbara started her career in education about 10 years prior to this study as a classroom aide; she then became a teaching assistant before she did a program as a resident teacher. She taught for two years and then transitioned to working in the public school system office in 2012. She first worked on the "Critical Response Team," which answered questions directed to the chancellor and responded to the phone calls that the district received. Before the lottery system transitioned to include charters, she provided customer service to people who had questions about it. She spent some time working on school openings before she transitioned to her current role where she focused on school planning. In this capacity, she worked on long-term planning for school openings and program expansion. Her office also supported the student assignment policies, which included boundaries and feeder patterns. Barbara said that in her role, she worked closely with enrollment because that office thought about the policies regarding feeder patterns and the way that families could access schools.

I asked Barbara about the transition to a lottery system that included both the public schools and the public charter schools. She said,

> [The district] did a really, I think, good job engaging…and on communications with that. And I think that the way that they set it up was meant to be…I think definitely one of the goals was to make it as accessible and, like, strategy proof… you know, like, the families really should just apply to the schools that they want

> to apply [to]. You know, trying to make it as successful as possible so that you don't, you know, gain an advantage by trying to do all sorts of crazy stuff to, like, increase your chances here or there.

Barbara said that with the combined lottery, the district focused more on the student recruitment aspect and its role around the lottery. She said, "Whereas now when folks called [with questions about] the common lottery, they certainly, like, talk them through what options are, but it's a little less of a, like, qualitative conversation and more just like, 'Here's what they are.'" Barbara thought that in this sense, maybe people missed out on some of the nuances of the public schools, although she said people could still call for advice on schools. She said, "The best way to learn is by going to these places," but when her office was involved in the lottery, it had a larger role in guiding people on school decisions.

I asked Barbara how the district balanced its role in choice and access to school options now that there was one system for school choice that included charter schools, and I asked if this system felt like a competition. She said,

> Yeah, I mean, I think [here], it's hard not to feel like there is competition. I mean, it's, like, such a close market share between charters and [the public schools]. I mean, I know a lot of times…I think people have different perspectives on it, and, but I think a lot of our leadership has been very focused on making [this system] the best that it can be. And I think we do…I mean, we do have a very, like, value-add proposition to families, which is that we are a system of right. And you can access it any time. There's a lot of stability—feeder pattern and proximity. Like, I think we do offer something that speaks to the values that we've heard from

families, just, you know, reliability, a good solid school experience, a trajectory, proximity in the neighborhood.

I also asked Barbara about dual language programs and access to these programs. She said,

> One is that our programs started as a service delivery model for English learner students. I think when people see the map of where our programs are, it can be kind of like, "Oh wow. That doesn't feel right." But it's there for a reason, because the schools, where they are now, for the most part, are where the schools were [where] we had high populations of English learner students. And so that's where the program started. I know that a lot of the leaders, especially in those schools, very much believe in that mission of using dual language programs to serve English learner students. And so I think that that remains one of our priorities. At the same time though, I think the other things we've heard a lot about and see ourselves is an interest in seeing more equity of access to those programs. That was part of the rationale behind expanding the program to [another school]. So while there is a growing English language learner population in [certain area] in the areas surrounding the school, it's not serving the same…you know, that's not the primary driver. It was more about increasing access to that type of programming, knowing that there are families who are interested in those opportunities for learning that may not be English learners and that don't happen to live near or, you know…[have an] ability to get to the programs that we had previously. And the other is just overall demand for dual language. I think it's another thing that we've seen and the growth and demand that we've seen…the

> largest growth and demand that we have seen has been primarily among English-dominant families or families who are not native Spanish speakers. And so I think that it's been interesting to see, and I know that, you know, part of the priority of having strong programs is often having linguistically balanced programs, and so there are ways to make that work, but I do think there are also some tensions in the drivers behind demand for dual language…. So far the prioritization, or at least in the initial openings, have been around making sure that we are, you know, servicing English learner students. But then, more recently, thinking about equity of access and overall responsiveness to demand. And then also, I would say, the other one is feeder pathways.

I asked Barbara about the balance and tensions between the NSS and the English-speakers who want access to the DL programs and how these programs continue to serve EL students. She talked about how the programs started in neighborhoods that were primarily Spanish-speaking and that in-boundary families have priority, so there is nuance in that decision. She said,

> As we're seeing the demographic changes in [the city] in general and then within specific neighborhoods, it has started to raise some questions. Ideally, the lottery mechanisms and the access mechanisms reflect the goals we have and not vice versa. So we don't want the lottery to decide the way the program operates. Rather it'd be the opposite. And so, some of the things that you mentioned, like the language pools, have been a way to try to make sure that our lottery mechanisms are supporting the program goals. I think that we do that in two ways. One is that we know one of the indicators for success in a dual language program—or not

requirements, but definitely a lot of folks feel that the best way to operate is on a kind of balanced classroom—is by you doing the pools for families who are Spanish dominant and those who are not. I think its phrase is “English dominant,” but really it could be any other language dominance. And so allowing schools to use those pools to make sure that they're getting enrolling families from both language backgrounds, and thinking about the way that they offer seats within those. So we know that some schools like Morado when families have the in-boundary right that starts at kindergarten—she [the Morado principal] has seen that most of the families coming in now are English-speaking, and so she dedicates more of her seats to Spanish-dominant families in the Pre-K grades. So that long-term she has more of a balance moving up once all those English speakers starting [sic] coming in at kindergarten. So I think that's one of the ways that we have worked with our lottery, and the other is that—not just the balance but having those seat allocations makes sure that we are getting—generally Spanish-dominant families or often English learners, there is a correlation between the two. It's not a requirement, of course, but there is a correlation there. So it's making sure that there is an access point that is more likely to serve English learner families, even if it's not a direct mechanism for that. I think as, again, as neighborhoods or school boundaries go through demographic change, it has raised some questions about, you know, what are we really looking for when we talk about Spanish dominant? And for schools that are especially experiencing crowding and they're not able to offer as many out-of-boundary seats in the upper grades that maybe would've served—you know, that they could've offered in the

> Spanish-dominant pool through first grade. How do we both ensure the balance but then also make sure that the programs are still serving the population that we want? But then the flip side is, you know, as this system of neighborhood schools, a big part of our mission is serving the families that live in the boundary. And so when that begins to change to being more English-speaking families, it just kind of sometimes raises attention of, you know—those families wanted to and a lot of times they've moved to that boundary because they want to do a language program. But with the way that things are set up, sometimes those other families that we see more on the wait list, they then can come back in kindergarten, but it's definitely, you know—it's just people really value Pre-K and that walkability and the neighborhood school. So that's definitely kind of an excellent point.

I asked Barbara about how schools could enroll PK families and the ones that might fly under the radar, and she said that is a big piece of the lottery's focus but that the early childhood team worked with partners to make sure families knew about enrollment dates and were able to get into PK programs. She mentioned that the district had seen an increase in applications by the deadline. She talked a bit about the access to PK and that it might not have been the case that it could serve the entire population but that it was capable of serving the people that were seeking a spot. She explained,

> It's more that if a family is looking, there's a seat somewhere. It may not be in their neighborhood school. It may not be in the exact program that they want or the location that they want. But we do have enough seats in our system to serve all families who are seeking enrollment—but we do look a lot—I mean, if you live in [one area] and the only seat available [is] in [another area], that may not

> feel like a real seat. You know, that doesn't necessarily feel like they actually have access. So we will look a lot at where we have demand, and certainly from an early childhood perspective, thinking about how we're servicing Title I families, and both making sure that families…we're doing what we can to improve the rate at which families are applying by the deadline in addition to making sure that where we can expand and where there is demand in quality programs, that we consider that and make efforts to, you know, to increase our seats where needed.

I asked Barbara if the district was going to open any new programs for the next school year, and she said no, but she said the district was thinking about a model that was not "necessarily in a program that is heavily enrolled by English learner students, it's just a little bit of a different program and funding model." She explained that when it came to dual language, "it's not like a thing where you have to add a bunch on top. Really, it's the students are taking classes. They just start taking classes by somebody who could speak Spanish." She added,

> And especially for a school that has a lot of that kind of English language learner support as part of their school model anyways, it's a little bit more kind of on the ground, just easier to start up. As we're expanding, if we're thinking about schools that serve high EL populations but aren't dual language, that's something that I think is a little bit more, like, covered in the current model that we have. But if we think about schools that either speak to the equity of access or just overall demand that may serve students [who] are more English dominant—really think about how do you make that program model successful without kind of that other

> network of language support that's already part of your school culture and your school community and your staffing model? It's a little bit of a different approach.

I asked Barbara about putting DLE programs in schools that lend themselves to this type of programming because they have a high population of Spanish-speaking Latinx students. She said,

> No, I mean I think that that's kind of what we're grappling with, but knowing that a big part of—dual language programs is serving EL students, that would then translate to…as we open up our programs, we would prioritize doing it in schools…with high EL populations. Because that's who we want to serve, but it's also the school model where it makes the most organic sense, I think. But at the same time, I think again, wanting to make sure that we're considering every school's context and making sure that…I think a big part of…as we're making expansion decisions, making sure it's clear to the community either what their role in that decision-making processes or if we say, "These are the criteria for when we do it and you meet those. So here, we're doing it."…But I do think…I mean we have…most of our very highest EL population schools are dual language, but there are a few that aren't…. So I think just making sure that we're also working with those schools to figure out how are you serving your EL population now? And is there actually a gap or a need in the way that we're servicing families that could be filled by dual language? Or is your need something else? Would another program do it, or is it the right fit? I think could make more organic sense there, but still wanting to make sure that we don't lose the specific contexts.

Enrollment Specialist, Barbara, Second Interview. Barbara agreed to meet with me again for a second interview and asked how this interview was different from the first. I explained the second interview gave me a chance to follow up with her on questions and issues that related to enrollment that came up in my interviews with parents. My first question was about the decision-making process around the preschool/PK lottery divides between Spanish- and English-dominant pools. It was unclear to me whether schools made their own decisions on the split of the population or whether it was her office that made those decisions. She clarified that every year, her office sat down with the principals of the dual language schools and asked how many seats they wanted to allocate to Spanish-dominant and English-dominant students. She said that they had these conversations every year because they had to provide a detailed accounting of how many seats they would offer for the lottery, for all schools, all grades, every year. She said in the PK years, there were a certain number of seats allotted. She explained,

> So we work directly with school leaders to figure out how many they want to offer, depending on either—a number of factors. What's the language balance of in-boundary families they expect to be getting, especially in K-1, what's the language balance of students who expect to be rising up, what do you typically see in your community, what works in your program. It depends a lot on program by program. So, that's something we work individually with them to do.

I also asked Barbara about internal waitlists and school-based decisions to move children from one program to another, and she said that her office only addressed the lottery aspect with the schools, not internal procedures.

I asked Barbara about the split between the public schools and the public charter schools because in many cases, families did not distinguish between the two. She explained that the appeal of the public system was that it was a system of right and that there was a predictability that parents could not get from a charter where they had to apply no matter what. She explained that there were some advocates for the public school system but that most people were advocates for their neighborhood schools, saying,

> I think also making sure that [the public schools] and then from the central level, we're playing up the individual schools but then also giving the tools and the support to individual schools to market themselves so that they're able to communicate to the families in the neighborhood why they're the right choice, versus like the schools district always doing that—not for them, because schools have always been doing that, but like, sometimes the individual school messages [are] more compelling to a family than, like, the district narrative.

I brought up middle school and how surprised I was at how often the question or subject of middle school came up in relation to people's school decisions and school choice. Barbara said her colleague worked supporting feeder engagement. She told me, "They set up, like, expos and fairs that were, like, feeder fests this year. So it was a new initiative, and then we also have, like, a nice designed booklet about feeder patterns." She talked about how middle school was important not only at the district level but also at the school level, particularly in relation to how the school principal and teachers talked about the middle school and building trust and connections between the schools.

I asked Barbara about equity of access because it seemed as though there were some “natural” places in the district for dual language programs, such as those that had high percentages of ELs who were Latinx students. Barbara responded,.

> Yeah. I mean, I think that's like, exactly the challenging intention. I think as a district, in the past, we have prioritized serving out families, and that's why you see our programs closer the way they are, so I don't think we would want to walk away from that. I mean, I think that's still an incredibly important part of the mission of our dual language programs and how we think about expansion. But we also know that there are—there's plenty of research out there about the benefits of language learning to all—its cognitive benefits, and so, thinking about is that something that we also want to make sure is more accessible city wide. It may not be under the same thresholds, we may have different criteria for deciding what makes a good fit there, or it may not be in every school, but I think that's still something that is very much on our radar. But when we think about human resources for expansion or just capacity to do it really well, I think that's definitely something that we're trying to think about is maintaining that focus while also balancing the more recent pressure for equity of access.

I asked Barbara about her office’s work with the Office of Family and Public Engagement, and she said that the offices worked together and thought not only about how to invest in the neighborhood schools to make them more appealing to families but also about how to improve what was happening for the students. I asked her about the notion of grassroots recruitment, and she said,

> I think there's also the reality that, like, race and class of the families that attend are like, people have preconceived notions about that that are, like, independent of what you might see on paper about a school. Or what you might experience if you walk in the doors. I think that's very real. But yeah, I think there are times when—I've heard this also from other community members. Sometimes it's battling perceptions about the school itself. And sometimes you're battling perceptions about the neighborhood or the community surrounding it that can be just as hard to get people over.

Barbara said her office had an advisory board during the study year that included parents and community members to think more of a long-term growth strategy for the district. She talked about the Spanish/English-dominant division and how the district used more specific language around Spanish-dominant because it led to some confusion. For example, she explained if parents filled out the application in English but said their child was Spanish-dominant, they encountered a pop-up that said, "are you sure?"

I asked Barbara about some of the disconnects I found between policy and practice, such as Beatriz at Juniper who had to apply via lottery but understood Juniper to be her neighborhood school. Barbara told me, "So you put in your address. If you put in your address, it says you have the right to attend; the lottery will say, you have the right to attend these schools based on your address." Barbara explained the way to confirm which school was the neighborhood school was to use the online tool or talk to someone in the school district because if people relied on talking to neighbors, due to boundary lines and charters, those neighbors might not have been eligible to enroll in the same neighborhood school and might give inaccurate information. She stated,

> I know in [this district] where if you've been around here, we've changed so much that maybe you could live in the same house you lived in and your in-boundary school is different from when you were a kid, or if you're brand new, there's a charter on the corner, and there's a [public school] up the block, and so it is a tough landscape to get to know for a lot of families. So I'm not surprised in some ways, but I'm also like, I want everyone to know what their in-boundary school is. And know that they—that's the school that they can go [to] at any time.

Juniper Bilingual Elementary School and Butterfield Elementary School

Cross-Case Research Question #1: What Are the Similarities and Differences Among Parents of Dual Language Education Students in How They Understand, Access, and Enroll in the Dual Language Education Program in Each of the Schools?

When participating families moved to the Juniper community and had children in elementary school, they entered Juniper in the corresponding grade, although not always in the bilingual program, as demonstrated by Consuelo's experience. The latest point of entry for these students was third grade in the cases of Rose's daughter and Beatriz's son. In Elsa's case, she relocated from Texas but had a sister in the neighborhood. She said she did not really know about the different tracks, but she explained her sister told her about the bilingual program, so she knew to ask for it. All parents at Juniper either entered through the PK lottery or entered as their neighborhood school of right in elementary school.

Similar to Juniper, most of the families entered Butterfield through the preschool/pre-kindergarten lottery, with the exception of Luz, who relocated from Argentina when her oldest was entering kindergarten. Alejandra and Natalie had their

children start at another school before applying to and entering Butterfield through the lottery. One difference in enrollment was that at Butterfield, half of the families that I interviewed lived out of boundary, compared to no families at Juniper. Because Butterfield used a whole school dual language program, there was not the same level of confusion about registration for this school as there was with Juniper.

Cross-Case Research Question #2: How Do the Factors That Influence Their Enrollment Vary Between These Two Different Parent Populations at Butterfield and Juniper?

Across the two schools, parents often cited similar reasons for choosing their respective schools, which I categorized according to the six most common reasons given. In cases when parents mentioned unique reasons, I added those reasons to the "other" category. I review these categories in detail in this section.

Diversity. At Juniper, two parents, English-speakers, mentioned the idea and importance of diversity. Lyla talked about how her family was the minority and how that equated to diversity for her. At Butterfield, both Natalie and Luz mentioned diversity as an important component and reason that they liked the school. Joserie also mentioned diversity, but she equated it with a lack of "vigor" in the school.

Bilingualism/Cognitive Benefits. All parents mentioned the benefits and importance of bilingualism, although in Beatriz's case, she acknowledged that she would have to work on Spanish at home because her son was in the English-only program. Lillian and Henry were the only couple who mentioned the cognitive benefits of bilingualism. Laura mentioned bilingualism in the contexts of helping people who may not speak English and providing more opportunities for her son, such as the internship at

the museum that wanted a bilingual Spanish/English speaker. At Butterfield, the participants also mentioned the importance of bilingualism, although no participant specifically mentioned cognitive benefits.

Location. At Juniper, location was a key factor for the participants. Beatriz even mentioned moving closer to Juniper to be able to attend. Not only did all the participants live in-boundary for Juniper but also several of them (Dolores, Lillian, and Rose, for example) mentioned its proximity to their homes. Unlike Juniper, not all the participants at Butterfield lived in the neighborhood. Only half of them lived there, but this factor was important and mentioned for those that lived close to the school (Luz, Maria, and Gloria).

Sense of Community/Neighborhood School. At Juniper, Lillian and Rose discussed the importance of attending a community school. At Butterfield, Alejandra talked about the sense of community in the school as a factor she was happy with. Luz talked about the community, too, but in relation to a community school and how she had a responsibility to make her public school better.

Importance of Learning English. At Juniper, a few of the Spanish-speaking parents, such as Laura and Beatriz, mentioned the importance of their children learning English. Alejandra was the only participant at Butterfield that mentioned the importance of learning English as a reason for her school choice.

Maintenance of Native Language. Laura, Consuelo, and Marcela mentioned that they liked Juniper because it gave their children an avenue to maintain their native language. Marcela mentioned that the opportunity to continue DLE in middle school was important because that was often when children shifted to more English. At Butterfield, Maria, who did not speak her native language with her children, wanted them to learn it

and speak it. She also discussed how lucky she was that her children had this "opportunity." Gloria also talked about the importance of the ability to maintain and not forget a native language.

Tables 16 and 17 summarize the reasons parents cited for their school choices. These reasons were identified in the coding process.

Table 16

Parental Reasons for Choosing Butterfield

Parent name	Diversity	Bilingualism/ cognitive benefits	Location	Sense of community/ neighborhood school	Importance of learning English	Maintenance of native language	Other
Luz	X	X	X	X		X	Likes the bilingual model (50:50). She mentions the responsibility of making one's public school better. Parents are very involved.
Gloria		X	X			X	She loves the school personnel
Alejandra	X	X			X	X	Community aspect
Joserie	X	X				X	
Maria		X	X			X	She loves the teachers and the staff
Natalie	X	X					

Table 17

Parental Reasons for Choosing Juniper

Parent name	Diversity	Bilingualism/ cognitive benefits	Location	Sense of community/ neighborhood school	Importance of learning English	Maintenance of native language	Other
Laura		X	X		X	X	
Elsa			X		X	X	
Cecilia		X					Can come in to check on daughters, they aren't left on stairs
Marcela		X					Mentions meetings translated to Spanish
Consuelo		X	X			X	
Ryan and Dolores		X	X	X		X	
Mila and Carl		X	X				Carl says that "stats" on the schools are the most important to him. Mila says "personal touch" including home visit.
Lillian and Henry		X	X	X			
Lyla	X	X	X	X			"homegrown community"
Janice	X	X	X	X			PK program
Rose		X	X	X			
Emily		X	X				
Beatriz		X			X		

Cross-Case Research Question #3: What Are the Similarities and Differences in the Way the School Administrators Perceive Parent Access to Their Programs and Explain Parent Choice?

At both Juniper and Butterfield, the administrators explained the systems of access through neighborhood and lottery in a similar way. One difference in lottery access was that Juniper had a 50/50 divide for PK with an equal division between Spanish- and English-dominant students, whereas Butterfield had a 60/40 divide. Because Juniper was beginning to phase out its EO strand, there were still families there who did not have access to the DL program, whereas all families at Butterfield were automatically enrolled in that program because that school used a whole school model. When Juniper completes the transition to a whole school model, the requirement of choosing a specific program (EO or DL) will be removed.

Both Filipe and Amaya talked about the prospective families and how they provided them with information about the programs. For example, Filipe said he conducted the school tours and sometimes had families with no Spanish who came in at later grades. In those cases, he talked to them about the program and whether they would continue with DL in middle school. This element seemed in contrast with Amaya who perceived that some parents accessed Juniper's dual language program because other people talked about it or because they had friends and neighbors there, but she was not sure if they understood that the program was DL. She mentioned that she was not sure that English-speakers knew what DL entailed, and Filipe wanted to be sure the incoming students at the later grades were prepared for an education in a language they were not yet familiar with. Amaya and Filipe both talked about the differences in the grades and

the student populations. For example, Amaya thought people accessed the program because they knew there were more White students at Juniper now, and she speculated that meant people had more positive views of the program. Filipe talked about there being no signs of gentrification in the older grades because people were coming in at early levels and switching schools through the lottery and trying to get into the "better schools."

Overarching

Overarching Research Question #1: How Do Parents Choose to Enroll in the Dual Language Education Program at Butterfield and Juniper Elementary Schools and How Does Their Enrollment Process Exacerbate/Relieve Inequities in Access to Dual Language Education in this Focal District?

As previously discussed, there were primarily two ways to access dual language programs in the focal school district for this study: through the lottery system or through neighborhood right. At times, as interviews indicated, families entered DL programs through an administrator's discretion even though they were out of district for the school. Each of these access points played a role in how the enrollment process exacerbated or relieved inequities in access to DLE. I will discuss each of the access points in this section.

Because the lottery offered families the option to rank school choices and potentially attend a school outside of their designated neighborhood school, the lottery system could relieve inequities in school choice that might otherwise be determined by housing prices or other neighborhood factors. The inclusion of the charter schools with

neighborhood schools in one lottery also simplified the application process for families and allowed them more school choices.

As will be shown in this section, schools used different designations for their language preference categories. The district worked with the school principals to determine the specific balance of Spanish-dominant and English-dominant students. As Isabel explained, a more specific definition of Spanish dominant, particularly if that definition targeted students with low English proficiency, would provide more equitable access to these programs by students who needed them, as opposed providing access to a wide range of students by following an enrichment model. Even so, revised language could potentially exclude bilingual students who might have Spanish as a home or heritage language.

The neighborhood right-to-attend was a mechanism used to ensure that families could attend their local, neighborhood school. For dual language or other special programs that were not whole school but followed a strand model, as Juniper did at the time of this study, families had to apply via lottery for a space in the specialized program. This rule indicated that families might not have had access to a specialized school program even if they lived in that school's neighborhood. However, lottery preferences, such as proximity, would apply. The only way families could have a guaranteed seat in a dual language program was if the school with the DL program was a student's neighborhood school-of-right and if the program used a whole school model. Neighborhood right began at kindergarten because mandatory schooling in this district began at age 5. As neighborhoods gentrify and housing prices increase, some families

may be priced out of these neighborhoods, which would exacerbate inequities in access to these programs through the neighborhood mechanism.

Based on the data from interviews, there were a couple of other avenues for entrance to a dual language program. Amaya at Juniper gave the example of moving a student that she thought would benefit from DLE even though she thought that student would not pass a language placement test. Gloria spoke of families that moved out of the district but still attended Butterfield. In both of these cases, these entry mechanisms could exacerbate inequalities to access. For example, a school administrator at Juniper had the discretion to move students between programs based on her opinion, meaning it was possible that not all families had a fair chance to receive this placement. If a student's special needs could not be demonstrated in a placement test, perhaps the system would benefit from a specific approach or access point for special education students. Additionally, circumstances under which families relocate but continue to attend the school must be examined.

As demonstrated by the waitlist data in Table 18, demand for Juniper and Butterfield exceeded supply. The available waitlist data for both Juniper and Butterfield also demonstrates the increase in demand over time for placement at these schools. As this data shows, there were waitlists for both English-dominant and Spanish-dominant students at both schools, although at the time of the study, the English-dominant waitlist was longer than the Spanish-dominant list. Longer waitlists occurred at the entry grades, mainly PK3 and PK4, which were not required grade levels but open to all within the city and were only accessible via lottery. Table 19 illustrates overall enrollment at Juniper and Butterfield over time.

Table 18

Waitlist Data From Juniper and Butterfield Over the Previous Four School Years for Preschool, Pre-K, and Kindergarten

School	Preschool Spanish-dominant waitlist	Preschool English-dominant waitlist	PreK Spanish-dominant waitlist	PreK English-dominant waitlist	Kindergarten Spanish-dominant waitlist	Kindergarten English-dominant waitlist
School year 2019–2020						
Butterfield	17	72	11	45	2	17
Juniper	40	113	23	83	22	53
School year 2018–2019						
Butterfield	25	90	14	43	15	27
Juniper	39	138	33	110	12	59
School year 2017–2018						
Butterfield	13	49	13	35	18	22
Juniper	39	117	22	70	27	48
School year 2016–2017						
Butterfield	15	62	18	28	9	11
Juniper	41	144	46	90	14	31

Table 19

Enrollment at Juniper and Butterfield Over Time

School	Total	PK3	PK4	K	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
School year 2011–2012									
Butterfield	459	50	55	69	66	41	62	57	59
Juniper	310	35	54	63	57	33	36	32	NA
School year 2012–2013									
Butterfield	442	44	60	75	64	57	40	51	51
Juniper	391	35	55	73	65	56	33	40	34

Table 19 (continued)

School year 2013–2014									
Butterfield	465	48	53	79	70	62	59	39	55
Juniper	406	33	56	65	75	57	56	32	32
School year 2014–2015									
Butterfield	465	46	53	68	66	72	61	59	40
Juniper	446	32	55	70	67	72	65	53	32
School year 2015–2016									
Butterfield	470	41	49	64	69	65	72	53	57
Juniper	512	40	57	70	78	79	73	71	44
School year 2016–2017									
Butterfield	473	42	57	69	71	66	57	63	48
Juniper	534	50	49	74	77	75	78	77	54
School year 2017–2018									
Butterfield	473	44	50	71	70	62	59	55	62
Juniper	548	44	53	74	75	79	74	78	71

Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented my findings from three groups of stakeholders involved either directly or indirectly in access to dual language programs. These stakeholders were parents with children in DLE schools (although two parents did not have access to the program) school administrators of these specific schools, and central office personnel involved in DLE in their various organizational capacities. First, I presented each one of my parent participants and their experiences and perspectives on their schools, including how they accessed the programs. Second, I presented findings from school administrators, including how they understood access to their programs. Next, I presented data from my interviews with the central office personnel, which in three of five cases included a follow-up interview to address issues that came up in my

parent and administrator interviews. I then compared the perspectives of parents in the two schools, and finally, I demonstrated how these systems exacerbated and relieved inequities in family access to DLE. In Chapter 5, I will discuss my analysis, implications, and areas for further research.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this chapter, I divide my findings into two parts. First, I discuss my findings in relation to my conceptual framework, which consists of: (a) language orientations, (b) interest convergence, (c) critical consciousness, and (d) equity. Next, I discuss the themes that emerged organically from my data: gentrification, middle school, and choice. These themes came directly from my conceptual framework and my third-round coding of the data for these specific concepts.

Language Orientations

To analyze the data for language orientations, I used a quotation from each participant as evidence of Ruiz's (1984) three orientations and to understand how this orientation influenced the participants' perceptions of DLE. In several cases, participants demonstrated more than one language orientation, which I highlight in Tables 20–23. As Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2018) described, some of these cases could represent "ideologic tension" when the participant has more than one language orientation. These language orientations provide insight into the reasons that families chose the DLE program. The examples here are not meant to represent a broad generalization of the participants' language orientations but rather to highlight how the participants categorized language in their interviews. These orientations were coded and categorized in the third round of coding, indicating that I reviewed the transcripts thoroughly prior to classification. I also revisited Ruiz's work to ensure that my quotations and interpretations represented each language orientation accurately. In the next section, I divide these language orientations thematically into Ruiz's three orientations.

Table 20

Examples of Language Orientations of Parent Participants at Juniper Elementary School

Parent name	Language perception	Supporting evidence
Laura (NSS, DL)	Resource/ Right	It's very important that the children speak English, and this was something that called my attention, because of the two languages, Spanish and English, this was one of the reasons I chose this school. Yes, it is very important not to forget our language.
Elsa (NSS, DL)	Resource	I like it because they have like, like another opportunity, because even though we are Hispanic, the kids here prefer English, the majority. Even though one doesn't speak English 100%, they prefer it. And I feel content that they want, and that they place importance on two languages from the start.
Cecilia (NSS, DL)	Resource/ Right	I can communicate with the teachers in my language.
Marcela (NSS, DL)	Resource	…because they teach them Spanish and since my son couldn't speak Spanish, now he's learning a lot..
Consuelo (NSS, DL)	Right	And so, always when I started to look for schools, I always looked for bilingual schools, because, as Hispanics, our children need to speak our language. And so, she, thank God, my daughter took the exam to be in bilingual, and they put her in bilingual
Mila and Carl (NES, NIL, DL)	Resource	It's really just about the socializing and the play, and the sort of the exposure to Spanish, the exposure through songs. She comes home singing Spanish songs all the time, which is great.
Lillian and Henry (NES, DL)	Resource	But I think things just lined up nicely that we were fans of bilingualism. I was learning and advocating for families to come to CEC for the bilingual opportunity. And so, you know talking about research and stuff and brain development and like function, you know the benefits of a bilingual approach. And so it just worked out nicely then for us to be, I think we felt-- I think that we were pretty informed around like it takes time and it's not like they're going to start speaking Spanish in year one
Lyla (NES, DL)	Resource/ Problem	For me, I'm like, this is like the Shangri-La of my living my public-school dream in the city because I think it's actually, I think Juniper does have the best Pre-K in the city. And the bilingual on top of that. For me it was just like, it was a double win. I think I really loved the idea of my kids are learning a foreign language because I suck at it foreign language. And I mean really, I consider it a huge handicap and I know that when you're a child and you're learning, you're learning is able to do it better and it changes some structure of your brain. And so I think it's just a huge thing. And there are certainly challenges with so many of the families not being English speaking and just the ... I don't speak Spanish but I literally, one of my kids has this great friend and his mom doesn't speak English and my son's like, 'Let's have him over for a play date.' I'm like, I've tried to talk to his mom and we literally don't speak the same language.

Table 20 (continued)

Beatriz (NSS, EO)	Resource	It's not only Spanish that is important but as we are now in a country that isn't ours, he needs to learn the first language here, which is English
Rose (NES, EO)	Resource	And I don't know if it's stuff that I'd heard, but I know a few friends and I were trying so hard to find a way for our children to be in the dual language track because we felt like this is such an amazing opportunity
Emily (NTS, DL)	Resource	She says she likes "all languages" and thinks it is important to learn languages.
Ryan and Dolores (NES, NSS, DL)	Resource/ Problem	I mean, obviously Spanish has a special place in this country, basically, but the skill set that's associated with it I thought was useful for, also to things that ... I would have appreciated early bilingual education I think, and having tried to pick up other things later, it's like ... I felt like I had a talent, but then it was still like I was behind the curve. I mean ... there are some where there are a lot of Spanish speakers, but there's only a few where there are very few people who are not Spanish speakers, and then where's there- I would say about at least probably the majority of the parents would greatly prefer it to speak Spanish to never speak English. They have much more difficulty in English. They would much prefer if they could, they'd be much comfortable in Spanish. I don't know how many other schools, maybe four or five schools in [the district] might be remotely similar…but it's not necessarily that it's Latino, because they're big, high Latino populations it's just the- basically, ELL parents who didn't necessarily even get a lot of English language learning themselves, and those families are hard to- basically, in school context and other ways, essentially to socialize with, from.. Everything from attitudes towards school and teachers, to other parents, and then obligations with family and with their kids and like- it made it hard to join in the activities if people wanted to do that, socially with schools.
Janice (NSS, DL)	Resource	We were very interested in that. I don't speak any other languages, my husband took Spanish in high school and I think some in college, but otherwise neither of us speak a second language and the opportunity for our kids to start learning a second language at three and four years old was very appealing to us

Table 21

Examples of Language Orientations of Parent Participants at Butterfield Elementary School

Parent name	Language perception	Supporting evidence
Luz (NSS)	Resource	We had to kind of start from the beginning to figure out what we wanted and for us, it was non-negotiable that it would be a bilingual education, and we're hoping that it will be a bilingual education with roots.
Gloria (NSS)	Right	We don't forget our language, which is Spanish
Alejandra (NSS)	Resource/ Right	I chose it because it's interesting and bilingual, it was what I wanted for my kids—a bilingual school more than anything. First of all, because Spanish is my first language and I want them to speak Spanish and obviously the dominance of English and Spanish. They speak the two languages perfectly for a better future for them
Joserie (NSS)	Resource/ Problem	That was what was important, was that they learn both languages so they can also communicate with some of our family members that don't speak any English, that they can go back and forth to Puerto Rico. I think that the education is not as vigor because there's a dual language. Having both languages, you almost have to teach addition here and now teach addition in Spanish.
Maria (NSS)	Problem (growing up)/ Right	Growing up I felt like I didn't really want to share that I spoke Spanish because I just felt different compared to everyone in my class because I went to a school that was not diverse so I was probably the only one that spoke Spanish….It wasn't until I was older when I went to college, maybe high school, not college. I started to see the benefit of speaking Spanish because I was able to work in college and work in positions that were for people that were bilingual. When we were looking for schools, I was like I want them to be able to speak Spanish so I wanted them to go to a bilingual school
Natalie (NES)	Problem	…but it's been a little struggle. She just kept saying like, "I want to go to an English school. This is not my language."

Table 22

Examples of Language Orientations of School Administrators

Administrator name	Language perception	Supporting evidence
Amaya	Problem	But that comment from that family just made me realize that they don't understand that if their child is not on grade level, that impacts me. That impacts my score. And that impacts our school. And I think within that, I think we need to do a better job of ensuring that our families truly understand one, how can you support your kids, and two, we're expecting the kids are grade-able in both languages. So you need to either accept that your child is going to be below, but then if your child is below grade-able, that negatively impacts our school. And we're not kicking anybody out.
Jackie	Resource	And my passion is that language education is a way to close the opportunity or achievement gap when we think about what's going on internationally and how children around the world are learning multiple languages. It is, my belief, a disservice that students here in the States are not afforded this opportunity and I think that of course the movement has begun and it's continuing to pick up speed, and I love speaking with Isabel and just hearing about the great work that's happening here in [the district and across the nation as our eyes are opening to this is the reality of the benefit of dual language.
Filipe	Right	As a Latino male, you're going to want to say, "I want to help the people I grew up with, I want to work with the Latino students, I understand their experience." It's going to be harder for me to convince somebody come help all the African American students learn Spanish. When I can say, there's all these Latino students that also need somebody. Like, why? It's a weird conversation to have. It's like, why did they decide Spanish for-- It's hard to see it as any other reason than that's what dual language is, that's what we know.

Table 23

Examples of Language Orientations of Central Office Personnel

Name	Office	Language perception	Supporting evidence
Amelia	Bilingual Education	Right[a]	So the schools must take steps to ensure that that family is included in [the district] processes, programs, activities that these families are not excluded because of the language barrier.
Isabel	Bilingual Education	Right/ Resource	…So just last week we had a meeting with the general counsel and the enrollment team because we would like to either give additional weight in the lottery to English learner kids or let them bypass completely the lottery because we know that these programs are the best placement for them. Like it's an educational necessity versus enrichment. You know, this is not just a program for White gentrifiers and Latino immigrants. Like this is also a program for high SES, low ES, African American, Asian. Because the programs have kind of grown up kind of grassroots, we did not really anticipate that this was going to be the big issue that it was. And I think that's something we're going to be looking at the next couple of years is how to communicate that this is a good opportunity for every kid.
Noah	Family and Public Engagement	Resource	Wanted a DLE school for his son because he also attended a DL elementary school in the district
Barbara	School Planning and Enrollment	Resource	It was more about increasing access to that type of programming, knowing that there are families who are interested in those opportunities for learning, that may not be English learners and that don't happen to live near or, you know ... ability to get to the programs that we had previously.
Carolyn	Equity	Problem	Talks about the difficulty in recruiting teachers and the barriers to licensure because of passing the PRAXIS in English, World Language and DL teacher positions are hard to fill

[a] Her perception of language-as-right is more related to access to materials for parents rather than related to student access to DL or bilingual education.

Language-as-Right

In this research, a language-as-right orientation was present in three specific circumstances. First, several parents expressed a desire for a dual language education as a way for their children to preserve their native language. Second, in the central office, Amelia discussed the right of families to access information in their native language (but not in relation to accessing DLE programs). Isabel, another employee of the central office and who emphasized programmatic access to DLE programs for native-speakers of Spanish *as a necessity*, also demonstrated a language-as-right orientation. Only one of the school administrators connected the DLE program to a language-as-right orientation. I will review each of these cases below.

Several of the Spanish-speaking parents spoke about the opportunity that bilingual education afforded them to maintain their own language. While no parent described DLE as a "right," I categorize this orientation because of the link between their language and heritage. Language is part of their identity. As one mother said, "porque digo, nosotros como hispanos, nuestros hijos tienen que hablar nuestro idioma [because I say, we as Hispanics, our children have to speak our language]." None of the parents mentioned their children's right to education in their native language, but the importance to them of their children maintaining their native language is evident in their comments. My perception is that it is their right to maintain this native language as it is not a resource for them to help with future employment but rather a link to the past, to an identity, to family, and to a culture.

In the central office, I found two examples of the language-as-right orientation, although one of them was not related to DLE. As mentioned, Amelia's role was to ensure

access to critical materials for parents in their native languages and to verify that the district was in compliance with the city's Language Access Act, which was passed in 2014. For my own background knowledge, I went to a Language Access event in which Amelia presented on language rights and explained how parents could access information in their native languages (through translation services and critical school documents, for example). Anecdotally, parents gave examples of not always receiving translated copies of school documents. Through this event, it was apparent that the district did not strictly comply with the Language Access Act. Amelia could inform families about dual language programs, but the families did not have a right to attend these programs unless they lived in a neighborhood where a DLE program was their neighborhood school-of-right. Amelia also spoke of not "overselling" the programs because they were difficult to access due to high demand. Even if there was a space available for a newcomer, it might have been daunting to deal with the logistics of a school outside of one's one boundary (if that was the case).

Isabel expressed the orientation that access to DLE was a right for EL Spanish speakers. In our second interview, she referred to the DLE model as an "educational necessity." While her orientation could be categorized as language-as-right, there was no district mandate or effort to provide DLE for Spanish-speaking EB students. This lack of access through a right indicates that language-as-right was not a mainstream orientation in this district's system as far as access to DLE programs for these students.

While Filipe did not state a language-as-right orientation for the DLE program at Butterfield, his mention of his own identity as a Latino male wanting to help fellow Latinx students suggests that he has a connection to this population within the DLE

programs. He had difficulty trying to explain DLE as an additive model, as opposed to a culturally and linguistically relative model, because the public programs within the focal district were only Spanish-English. He did not state that other populations should not have access to dual language but rather stated that the district should offer other options to other populations, not just a Spanish-English model.

In conclusion, the results indicate the absence of a general orientation or understanding of DLE as a linguistic right for native speakers, which could hinder their ability to access the programs if they are not in their local school or if their schools of choice have long waiting lists. The Language Access Act states, "The Language Access Act obligates the [local] government to provide equal access and participation in public services, programs, and activities for residents of the [focal city] who cannot (or have limited capacity to) speak, read, or write English" (source deleted to protect identity of district). While analysis of legal text is beyond the scope of this paper, one could argue that public education is a "public service." Therefore, it could be a matter of time before the city faces a lawsuit about linguistic rights for language minority populations related to participation in dual language education.

Language-as-Resource

As demonstrated Tables 20–23, I categorized most of my participants as expressing a language-as-resource orientation. This perception of language was particularly true for non-native Spanish-speaking parents who wanted their children to be bilingual, either for the cognitive benefits, as with Henry and Lillian, or because the parent did not have exposure to another language as a child, as with Janice and Lyla. Spanish speakers also largely categorized language and DLE with a language-as-resource

orientation. One of the administrators, Jackie, also viewed Spanish as a resource for students. In this section, I will outline the differences in language-as-resource orientation between the native Spanish-speaking and the non-native Spanish-speaking parents.

Among native Spanish-speaking parents, Laura, for example, mentioned her son's ability to help people translate and the internship he got because he was bilingual. She also talked about the importance of her son learning English. Alejandra referenced bilingualism as providing a better future for her children. In these cases, both bilingualism and the acquisition of English were resources for these families because of the link to opportunities and the notion of a better future.

Most of the non-native Spanish-speakers, including Emily, a native Tigrigna speaker from Ethiopia, expressed their contentment with their child's ability to learn another language and become bilingual or multilingual. Among the native English speakers, Lyla and Janice expressed their interest in DLE because they were not exposed to bilingualism as children and it was a benefit they wanted for their children. Henry and Lillian, also native English speakers and with the most experience in bilingualism and education, were the only ones who spoke of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism.

Jackie's (one of Juniper's assistant principals) language-as-resource orientation is evident in her comments about access for all children and her reference to the United States being "behind." In this sense, she saw bilingualism as a way for U.S. students to compete on the global market. She talked about an "opportunity gap," but she did not refer to this gap in the context of demographics within U.S. schools but rather in the context of how the United States compares to other countries. In this sense, she commodified dual language and bilingualism as a "thing" that children in the United

States are missing out on and expressed that this missed opportunity impacts the United States' ability to access and compete in the world.

Language-as-Problem

The language-as-problem orientation is evident in parent, administrator, and central office personnel views of language. In the parent community, this orientation surfaces as a literal problem in communication (Lyla's example), or veiled as a problem, but likely a deeper issue (explained below). In both cases, language-as-problem, I argue, is largely a socioeconomic issue, not a language issue. Amaya (one of Juniper's assistant principals) demonstrated a language-as-problem orientation, as did Carolyn from the central office. This orientation is problematic, particularly in a DLE environment, because it has implications for program implementation and school culture.

I found several instances in which parents viewed language-as-problem. A very clear case of this orientation was Lyla's, when she mentioned her son's friend from school and not being able to have a playdate with this friend because his mother and she "literally don't speak the same language." While Lyla could arrange a playdate through her son or could communicate with the teacher to access the parent, I believe her hesitance to do so has more to do with the intersection of two different cultural and socioeconomic groups than with the literal language differences. Even with a DLE program that crossed socioeconomic divides, she was not willing to make an effort for her son to engage with another student in a different demographic.

Dolores and Ryan (NSS; NES) discussed differences within the parent population at Juniper and the component of that population that would prefer to speak in Spanish. They talked about this language issue as a division between the two populations, even

though the divisions were more than linguistic. Dolores spoke about "taking back" the neighborhood school as a place people would want to send their children, and she referred to "the people with more money" moving into the neighborhood. Both she and her husband spoke Spanish, and she was a native speaker, but she was Cuban American, which was a different demographic from the Central American majority at the school. Her background as a Cuban American from Miami likely indicates a higher SES and a different background than that of the majority of Latinx families at Juniper, which also complicates the definition of Latinx. In this case, even though parents veiled the struggle in the school between communities as being between parents who did not want to or could not speak English and parents who spoke English, it was probably the socioeconomic divide that made the connection difficult. As mentioned, both Dolores and Ryan were bilingual, so it was not that they literally could not communicate with other parents. Rather, it was that the cultural and economic differences between the populations were so great that community cohesion was challenging. This finding is supported in other research (Chaparro, 2019) which indicates the challenges of integration between different socioeconomic demographics, even if they are all enrolled in a DLE program.

Amaya also had a language-as-problem orientation, but curiously, her orientation was not from the deficit perspective of Spanish speakers needing to learn English. Rather, Amaya focused on the English speakers who did not know what they were getting into when they elected the dual language option. She talked about the impact on her scores when children did not perform well in Spanish and how their performance reflected on her. She also said that people might think that Juniper had improved because there were more White students in the upper grades. She acknowledges this view as "sad," but she

focused on the adjustment of the monolingual English speakers to the program, not the adjustment of the Spanish speakers. Similar to the parent examples above, her perception seems to be focused on the demographic differences in the community, not on the language. For example, she did not talk about achievement within the NSS population but rather discussed why some people had applied to Juniper, particularly if they were not only Spanish speakers but also non-native English speakers. In this sense, she demonstrated a language-as-problem orientation because students' abilities to perform will impact the school's scores (she did not elaborate on the consequences or repercussions of this). She seemed to question some of the families' motivations for participation in the program. I think this view perpetuates the idea that DLE is only for these two populations, which is also reflected in the broader landscape of DLE throughout the public-school system. What I notice, both in her language orientation and generally, is a focus on English-speaking parents, which demonstrates to me a lack of concern for Spanish speakers, whom the DLE programs were intended to serve in this district when the programs were initially developed using a service delivery model. She predominantly talked about the English speakers and their misunderstanding of the model, not about the Latinx families and how the program caters to their needs. Her references to the Latinx families were in terms of filling out the lottery for them or in terms of the number of native speakers in the upper grades. Throughout this interview, it was apparent that she was more interested and invested in the experiences of the monolingual English speakers than those of the Latinx population. In terms of curriculum, she talked about aligning Spanish language arts to English language arts, which to me could suggest a preference for the English curricular focus. This focus may

be due to testing or may be due to the curricular materials that are available in English versus Spanish. She confirmed this viewpoint when she talked about how she thought people did not understand what DL entails. She used the example of math classes being taught in Spanish and how a child would feel for 80 minutes a day learning a subject in a non-native language. In this comment, it is clear that her thoughts and energy focus on the English speakers, not the Latinx students.

At Butterfield, Joserie (NSS) also exhibited a language-as-problem orientation. She described the diversity of the school mostly in economic terms and said that she thought the diversity, or the dual-language, was a trade-off with "vigor," (probably intending to use "rigor"). She talked about the trade-offs between her child being enrolled in a dual language program and having to teach her child certain concepts at home (she mentioned fractions) because of the enrollment in the dual language program. In this sense, she perceived the DLE program model, because of its two languages, as a problem. She viewed this problem as a trade-off between acquiring the second language and experiencing a rigorous academic program.

At the central office, Carolyn also took a language-as-problem orientation. When I asked her about her role, she described the challenges of DLE and talked about the teachers and barriers to entry. Her reference to teachers was to explain that the teachers in the DLE program did not have the language skills in English to pass the required exam for certification in the district, so the district had to create a system to help them overcome this barrier. While this development was positive for Spanish-speaking teachers, she framed it as a problem because of the difficulty in working in this system. Carolyn did not mention equity in reference to native speaker access to programs or even

in reference to the benefit of expanding dual language programs throughout the district and into other communities and schools. Her comments were focused on the problematic issues of offering and having a dual language program in terms of the commodity of teachers for these programs.

I am concerned by the presence of a language-as-problem orientation within the confines of this research on DLE and equitable access. To me, this language-as-problem orientation at the district level and at the school administration level indicates that these key players lack a critical consciousness and equitable access perspective. For example, Amaya's constant reference to the English-speaking population indicates that the Latinx population may not be receiving adequate attention, and their needs could suffer as a result. I am concerned that this negative view of language will further hinder the progress of this model as a vehicle for Spanish-speaking EB students to both maintain their language and learn English.

As someone who believes that Spanish-speaking EB students have a right to attend DLE programs because of the overwhelming research that indicates this model is a successful way for them to maintain their native language and acquire English, the language ideologies encountered in my study leave space for further investigation. A language-as-resource orientation was largely shown by the English-speakers in this study, as it promotes their bilingualism and ability to add to their skill set. Language-as-problem is the most concerning, as no DLE should have this orientation simply by the definition of being an additive program and a positive resource. Yet its presence demonstrates the reality of trying to operate DLE programs in a district that is largely ignorant of the importance of bilingualism. There is a glimmer of hope in the two central office

personnel who displayed a language-as-right orientation, even though Amelia's position did not work directly with access to DLE programs. If these two district officials can share their perspectives and their work more broadly, perhaps even within the central office system, then more people could understand this orientation. More research should examine the perspectives of stakeholders involved in DLE and the relationship between this program model and the Language Access Act.

Interest Convergence

In this section, I will discuss the instances where interest convergence appeared in my study. Recall that interest convergence is the idea that the majority community makes efforts or changes for its benefit, not for the benefit of minority population, and that the famous example of this, as discussed in my theoretical framework, is the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision (Bell, 1980). In this section, I categorize interest convergence into sub-themes including diversity, neighborhood school, grassroots efforts, gentrification, and middle school. I will address each of these sub-themes next.

Diversity

Five parent participants, including two at Juniper and three at Butterfield, cited diversity as a reason for their school choice decisions. At Juniper, both of these parents were monolingual English speakers and wanted a school where their children were exposed to other groups of people. In contrast, at Butterfield, the participants who mentioned diversity were two native Spanish speakers and Natalie, the African American participant. My findings correlate with Freidus (2016) and contribute to this body of literature. Freidus (2016) wrote,

> By focusing on the school's "diversity" rather than naming race and class differences in the school's population, advantaged parents effectively silenced dialogue regarding conflicts between neighborhood old-timers and newcomers and refused to acknowledge the structural racism underlying the community's history. (p. 22)

In my study, the parents who mentioned diversity all had a socioeconomic advantage, and I question if their mention of diversity—particularly as they all considered leaving their individual schools or the system overall—also ignores the experiences of the marginalized populations instead of working to address the structural racism within these communities.

At Juniper, Lyla and Janice (both NES) mentioned diversity as a reason for choosing Juniper, but I argue that this diversity was in their own self-interest. For example, Lyla stated that she liked that her children were at a majority Latinx school where they were the minority but was unwilling to engage with her son's friend because the parents "literally" did not speak the same language. At the conclusion of our interview, Lyla told me that her family had decided to move because their middle school option was "unacceptable" to her. She chose to move to a different area of the city where she was guaranteed a spot at Hobbs Middle School. Janice also talked about diversity as a reason to choose Juniper but did not plan to stay in the public system beyond elementary school. In both of these examples, the parents mentioned diversity as a reason for their school choice, but they were not willing to commit to diversity in the long-term. They both seem quick to leave diversity behind when it no longer suits their preference.

At Butterfield, Joserie (NSS) discussed the diversity of the dual language program as a trade-off for rigor. Luz (NSS) also mentioned diversity as a positive element at the school, but she did reapply to the lottery during the study year in the hopes of getting into what Filipe would describe as a "better" dual language program. Natalie's (NES) comments on diversity are interesting because she mentioned it as a reason that she liked the program at Butterfield but also talked about how her daughter asked why she looked different from the other students. For example, Natalie commented that she would like a "White Santa" instead of Santa with a sombrero and blanket, indicating that the diversity was good, but only to the extent that she felt comfortable with it.

Across my cases, diversity was an element discussed by those who had the ability to choose their location and choose the diversity that they wanted. Diversity was not something that all participants mentioned, and I think mentions of diversity are correlated with families who have more ability to choose their schools and the populations in which they place their children. In the cases mentioned, the families were, either for racial or socioeconomic reasons, a minority, and they thus felt that diversity was a strength. In this sense, their interests converge with the DLE program and the schools because they like the diversity.

Neighborhood School

The concept of a neighborhood school connects to the literature regarding middle-class parents choosing urban schools (Posey-Maddox et al., 2014; Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017). In the case of some English-speaking parents in my study, their interest in attending a DL school was conflated with attending a neighborhood school. For example, Henry and Lillian mentioned that they would still attend Juniper even if it was not dual

language. Other parents (Rose, Maria, Luz) talked about wanting to support the neighborhood school and being happy that they had the opportunity to do so. While families in the study preferred a school that was close to where they live, this is not the same concept as attending one's neighborhood school. This concept does not have as much to do with language background as it does with socioeconomic status. Luz, for example, talked about the importance of her children going to the neighborhood school, which is similar to what Freidus (2016) finds with gentrifying families who want to improve their schools and think it is their responsibility. Dolores talked about "reclaiming" her neighborhood school and correlated that with "people with money" who moved into the neighborhood. Both of these parents were Spanish speaking but came from different socioeconomic demographics as demonstrated by their home ownership. More research should examine different parent demographics and their perception of neighborhood schooling to further understand this phenomenon. In my case, I believe that attending the DLE program is in the interest of these families because it is their neighborhood school but not necessarily because it is a DLE program. The neighborhood school concept seems to be connected to gentrification because now that there are multiple families of higher socioeconomic status moving into the neighborhood, they feel more comfortable attending the local school.

Grassroots Efforts

In the central office, both Noah and Isabel talked about how grassroots efforts are a better way to achieve changes in the community than is the institution of district-level policies. In this sense, *grassroots* refers to the phenomenon of the focal population taking on a project as opposed to the district leading the project. The oldest public DLE program

in the district of this study, for example, started as a grassroots movement led by local Salvadorians who wanted a DLE program to serve the needs of their community. In my dissertation research, mentions of grassroots efforts referred to a segment of the local population coming together to support its neighborhood middle school by sending children there. For example, Noah mentioned how grassroots efforts worked better for middle school conversations than central office starting these conversations, which was a less effective avenue. He explained that not only would these efforts on a district level be expensive and time-consuming but also that it would not be fair to put the burden on the community to create middle school movements. I believe that the district supports the idea of grassroots movements because it does not have to get involved in what can be divisive conversations. The problem with this notion of grassroots movements is that they have a tendency to favor those populations with voice and the capacity to organize for change.

While I expand on the middle school theme later, it bears mentioning here that some of the parents in my study discussed a grassroots movement for choosing the local middle school, similar to what Freidus (2016) described with parents looking for others like them to make the same decision. Not only did this topic come up in both school contexts, but it also came up with very specific participants. For example, at Juniper, the parents who mentioned grassroots efforts to me were Dolores and Ryan. At Butterfield, both Maria and Luz (both NSS) mentioned the grassroots efforts and collaboration between the Juniper and Butterfield communities. In these cases, the mothers were NSS of higher socioeconomic class (as indicated by Maria describing herself as a “stay at home mom,” Dolores and Ryan owning their home, and Luz owning her home and also

removing her children from the aftercare program and finding them other options). In my study, not only was this grassroots effort initiated by the more educated group of parents, but also it was initiated by parents who had an incentive to stay with the DLE model because of native language maintenance/heritage language support. Two other Spanish-speaking participants (Elsa and Cecilia) already had children at Rosewood in seventh grade, which leads me to believe that this grassroots effort was inclusive of White, albeit Spanish-speaking, parents. Laura mentioned that she would consider Rosewood for her daughter, but she did not mention a group of parents joining forces together to have their children attend. The grassroots effort is in the interest of the families only *if other parents like them* also choose it.

The grassroots concept and lack of district-wide DLE initiatives in this study implies an over-reliance on the local community and on change happening "naturally." Thus far, these grassroots movements, such as the population shift at Juniper, do not help the marginalized population directly but rather through the interest of the majority population. These grassroots movements seem to happen in the neighborhoods where gentrification is underway and the incoming population wants to "take back" the neighborhood school, but feels it needs a group around it to do so.

Gentrification

A simple definition of gentrification is the process whereby higher-income households move into previously low-income neighborhoods (Levy et al., 2006). Some definitions of gentrification also include the displacement of low-income households, which is a concern in the district of this study. My findings through both the interest convergence frame and the language-as-resource orientation contribute to the

understanding of the process of gentrification in the neighborhood of this district. While the purpose of my study was not to look at gentrification patterns, I would be remiss to exclude it from my discussion, as this process plays a role in equitable access to DLE programs, particularly in the case of Juniper. No doubt this conclusion is also informed by my former role as a Juniper teacher. In 2010, my DLE classroom at Juniper was filled with Latinx students, mostly from Central America, while there was only one White student in the PK3 classroom. At the time I taught at Juniper, the EO classrooms had a mix of Latinx, African, and African American students.

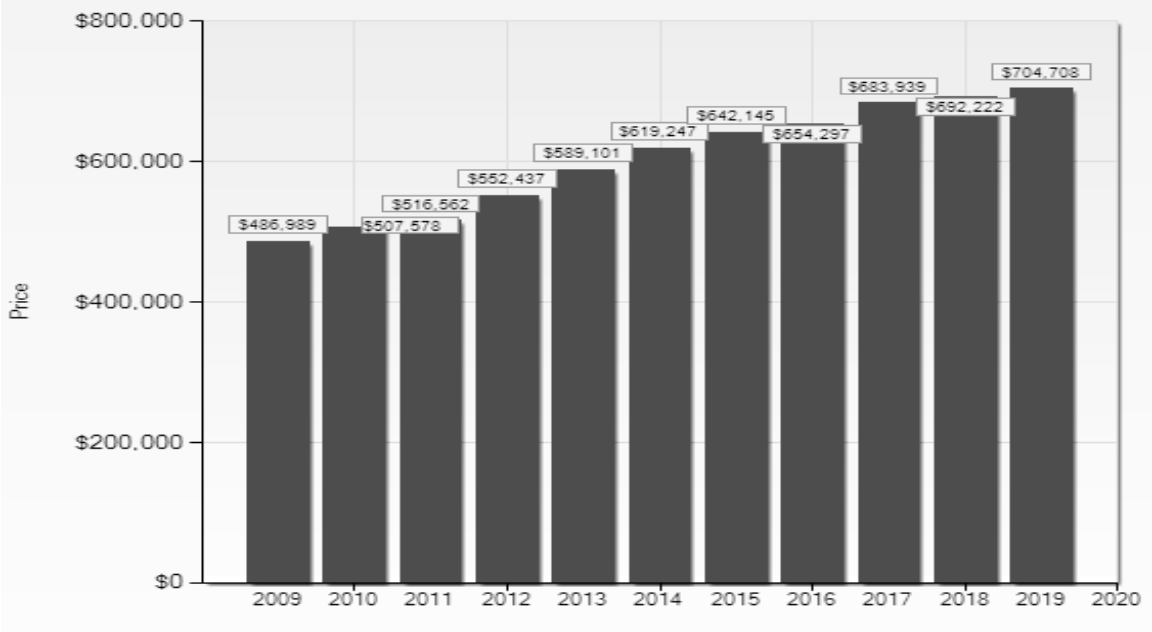
To provide more evidence to this claim that gentrification is a factor that contributes to equitable access to DLE programs, I provide some data on the changes in housing prices over time in the local district and the specific neighborhood where Juniper and Butterfield are located. If we look at average changes to housing prices in the focal city over time, we can see that they have increased. In the specific neighborhood of both of these schools, Santurce, housing prices have increased significantly more than the average (see Figure 4). We can also see that the market for housing is increasingly competitive in Santurce, as per the average number of days on the market for homes for sale has decreased significantly over the last 10 years (see Table 24).

Further research should examine how the increase in housing prices has impacted the low-income population, particularly the language minority population that lives in this neighborhood. I include this data here to encourage consideration of how access to these neighborhood schools may change for low-income families due to the increase in housing prices, which could lead to low-income families being forced to move outside of the neighborhood. The addition of English speakers to this neighborhood may help

increase fidelity to the DLE model in terms of the balanced population for both language communities. I think the program needs to heed Valdes' (1997) cautionary note to ensure that it meets the needs of the language minority students, and my research already indicates that this population may not be the focus of the current school administration.

Figure 4

Changes in the Focal City's Average Home Sale Prices, 2009–2019



Note. Data from personal contact at a local real estate agency in the focal district.

Table 24

Changes in Average Price and Days on Market of Housing in the Santurce Neighborhood, 2010–2019

Year	Average Sale Price	Average Days on Market
2019	$664,432	10
2018	$617,233	29
2017	$570,000	28
2016	$560,154	26
2015	$521,702	37
2014	$498,563	33
2013	$467,184	31
2012	$365,014	45
2011	$326,414	71
2010	$308,306	58

Note. Data from personal contact at a local real estate agency in the focal district.

Middle School

When I started this research, I did not anticipate the quantity of dialogue that would occur around the topic of middle school as a reason for school choice, particularly because my participants generally had students who were in the beginning of their educational careers in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten. Throughout my interviews, it became clear that middle school was a major factor in school choice and in how parents perceived and thought about the choice options for their children. While there were some differences between the parents who mentioned middle school, I cannot discuss differences by linguistic or socioeconomic lines because this topic, and the particular

hesitation around the middle school for both Butterfield and Juniper in the feeder pattern, crossed both linguistic and socioeconomic lines. In addition, there were also parents, such as Gloria and Luz, who did not know which middle school was in their in-boundary area, which is also concerning.

I want to first explain what I mean by middle school as a theme in this analysis. First, parents are strategic and think about the educational trajectory of their children from the moment they start in pre-K (if not before). When the focal district changes school boundaries and patterns for transitions from elementary to middle and high-school, the known entity of the middle school could change. In the boundary area of both Juniper and Butterfield, there is one main feeder middle school, Rosewood (district information, 2019). Some students are "grandfathered" into Hobbs Middle School because of re-drawn boundaries, but this only applies to children within a certain range of ages (for example, entering sixth grade by 2021). This grandfather clause indicates that families with young children, those at the beginning of their elementary school experiences, do not have access to Hobbs Middle School, which I noted was a highly desirable option. In this case, families who do not qualify for the grandfather clause to attend Hobbs or families who reside within the designated feeder pattern are assigned to Rosewood, which has a DLE strand program. Rosewood has a problematic history because it closed at the end of the 2012–2013 school year and had recently reopened for the 2018–2019 school year. I understand the temporary closure to be due to low enrollment, but families still perceive that it closed because it was "bad." For these reasons, in addition to the ones shared in the interviews, such as Laura stating there were gangs there, families who participated in this study were hesitant to send their children to

this school. These reasons are why some mothers in this study, particularly the higher-income Latina mothers, talked about forming a group of parents to send their children to Rosewood. Some parents at Juniper already had children who attended Rosewood. For all these reasons, the topic of middle school was particularly prevalent in my research and in my interviews with families. I hope this brief explanation helps describe the reason that middle school was such an important topic and theme in my research.

My second interview with Noah allowed me the opportunity to ask about family engagement efforts and communication around the middle school decision. He did not seem surprised when I brought it up as a theme from my interviews. Despite wide concern among parents at both schools regarding their neighborhood middle school, Noah told me that there were no district-wide efforts to engage families in discussions about middle school, but he said it is "never too early to start." He said the district was "hemorrhaging kids to charters" during the transitional years to middle school, and he thought the middle school conversation was most successful when it started with families as "grassroots efforts," versus at the district level, as I discussed in a previous section. He said that the district would likely re-examine the middle school feeder patterns when it redraws the school boundary lines in 2022.

Noah had a son who attended a neighborhood DLE school with two middle school feeder options. One of these options was the same as the feeder school for Juniper and Butterfield, Rosewood, which had a strand DLE program. The other option for his son, Hobbs Middle School, did not have a DLE program but was arguably the most "desirable" middle school option in the district. Noah told me that some of the families at his DL elementary school were not there for the DL program but rather because they

knew that school fed into Hobbs. Based on both his professional experiences and his personal experiences as a parent at a DLE school, Noah indicated that the district was aware that middle school was a problematic issue for school retention throughout the public school system. In the case of middle school, it seems the district puts the onus on the families to figure out their options without offering much support or guidance. The parent perceptions discussed next also corroborate this finding and suggest that the district needs to make significant efforts to engage families in their middle schools or will risk further disengagement at this level and beyond.

One of the Juniper parents, Rose, who did not have access to the DLE program there due to her daughter's entry in third grade, talked about her daughter "squeaking in" for the same desirable school that Noah mentioned (Hobbs Middle School). I was struck by her use of the word "squeak" in this case because it means to achieve something by a narrow margin. In this case, she was referring to being within the boundary for this middle school. Rose's daughter had access to Hobbs because of the way the boundary was drawn, which is a chance happening in a way, as the district redraws these lines every six years. I mention this example because in contrast to other Juniper parents, Rose did not have the same concern about middle school because she had access to the most desirable option. Even with this access, she still talked about other options for her daughter for middle school, but her choice of word in this case indicates that she feels lucky that she has the option for her daughter to attend Hobbs.

As I mentioned when discussing the grassroots theme, during the period of my study there was a group of parents, including three of my participants (two at Butterfield and one at Juniper), who were trying to band together to send their children to the feeder

middle school. The reason for this grassroots effort was not to try to gain entry to Rosewood. Rosewood was their feeder middle school and offered a DLE strand program as a continuation for their elementary DLE programs. Instead, I believe the reason for this banding together of parents is similar to what Freidus (2016) found; namely, this group of parents wants to know that there are more families like them whose children will attend the school, as the current demographics of the school do not include a White population (the school is 81% Latinx, 18% Black, and 1% Asian, according to its school profile; source withheld to protect confidentiality). The engagement that these participants mentioned, what Noah referred to as "grassroots efforts," was the type of movement that the district hoped would support its middle schools. The feeder school for Butterfield and Juniper had a DLE strand program, which may have particularly appealed to these mothers because they were all native Spanish speakers. Their hesitation to have their children attend this school, despite the presence of a DLE program, stems largely, in my interpretation, from the lack of families like theirs already at the school. Luz talked about "White privilege," and it is evident in her comments that she identified as White even though she was Latina (from Argentina). I think this distinction adds an interesting perspective to the literature on the topic of school choice because even though these parents were Spanish-speakers, they hesitated to send their children to the school because they would likely be in the economic minority as middle/upper class and from Latinx families. Similarly, Freidus (2016) discussed the "critical mass of concerned parents" who were committed to changing the school in that study (p. 18).

For several of my English-speaking participants, mainly Janice and Lyla, the feeder middle school was not an option. Lyla said, "And frankly, it is not acceptable to

me." She did not mention if she had ever been there, but she was upset because she was previously zoned for Hobbs, but she lost her access when the boundary changed in 2014, and her children were too young to benefit from the grandfather clause that allows those entering middle school by 2021 to still attend Hobbs. She offered no data points for why the feeder school was unacceptable to her but made the most dramatic decision possible when she decided to move her family to attend a neighborhood school in a zone that she deemed acceptable. This literal move is worth mentioning because it is arguably the most inequitable way that schools are available to families, which is through real estate prices. Janice did not have any specific reasons that she did not prefer the feeder middle school, but she mentioned, "Whether we will do Rosewood I kind of doubt…," and she explained that she was not sure how "well established" it would be at that point (about four years away for her oldest). She also mentioned that her family was, like Noah's, dual-zoned for both the feeder middle and Hobbs, which she felt gave her a good "back-up." She also mentioned that her family would likely play the lottery again at that point and hope to get into a dual language public charter middle school (there is only one in this area of this district).

In contrast, two of the Latina mothers, Elsa and Cecilia, with whom I spoke at Juniper already had children at Rosewood. Elsa mentioned that she did a tour of the middle school and went to a meeting with the principal (who was formerly an assistant principal at Juniper). While my conversations with these parents did not center on middle school, they did not mention discontent or entering the lottery again for a different middle school option. Laura, on the other hand, explained that the perception of the middle school was that there were a lot of gangs there, which was why she chose to send her son

to a local charter school. I have a strong memory of Laura telling me, eight years ago, that she wanted Hobbs for her son, but he was not matched there through the lottery. She mentioned that she would tour the middle school for her daughter but that her daughter would likely attend the same charter as her son, although Laura would also apply to Hobbs for daughter, too. Hobbs did not offer any seats via the lottery in the 2019–2020 school year and had 362 students on the sixth grade waiting list on the day the lottery results were released.

On the other end of the spectrum, there were a few parents in my study who had no idea what their local middle school was. Beatriz, at Juniper, knew of a local charter school because a neighbor had mentioned it to her, but she did not know what her feeder school was. She asked me if I could send her information on the school so that she could learn about it. Similar to other literature that examines parents' networks as sources of information (Glazerman & Dotter, 2017; Mavrogordato & Stein, 2016), this example illustrates that Beatriz's knowledge relies on what her neighbors, who may have a similarly small understanding of local options, tell her.

At Butterfield, neither Gloria nor Alejandra were familiar with their feeder middle school. Unlike many of the parents mentioned so far, Gloria did not see the need to start thinking about middle school until her daughter was older; she arbitrarily mentioned third grade. Part of the reason for this lack of familiarity could be that the feeder middle school was geographically farther from Butterfield than from Juniper, which was within walking distance of the feeder school. Alejandra did not know her neighborhood school either, so she might have just generally lacked information about schools outside of her immediate

experience. These two mothers in particular seemed to be less concerned about middle school as compared with their more affluent peers and with Laura at Juniper.

In my study, the issue of middle school was not limited to English speakers nor to more affluent parents, unless we consider Laura an outlier to this finding. The parents who already had children attending the feeder middle school were excluded from the coalition movement to send their children to this school. They had already made their choices as illustrated by having older children at the feeder school. It is important to think about whose voice is represented in these grassroots movements and what that says about the community dynamic and school choice. It seems apparent that the effort to make the middle school "an option" refers to White or affluent students attending the school. Additionally, in this study, when it came to middle school, parents from different ends of the spectrum, in the case of Spanish speakers such as Laura and English-speakers such as Janice and Lyla, all relied on information or perceptions that may or not have been based on fact. Laura even used the word "perception" to describe the fact that there might have been gangs at the middle school, and Janice and Lyla categorized the middle school as "unacceptable" or not being "ready" for their children. If the district did more outreach regarding this middle school option, more parents might feel more secure and choose this feeder school and its DLE program as their next step. Otherwise, they have the option to apply to other DLE middle schools via the lottery system.

The reliance on families to start conversations about middle school as grassroots efforts versus starting these conversations at the district level takes away the district's accountability for ensuring equitable access to these programs and the community needs of the Spanish-speaking EB population. This absence of formal power can leave informal

asymmetrical power relations intact, particularly as this over-reliance on local populations gives privilege to those with a louder voice (the language majority), which could further marginalize the needs of the minority language population.

Conclusion

The interest convergence theme in my findings is not as clear as a majority versus minority situation, but it is intertwined with the socioeconomic levels of participants. For example, the parents who mentioned the grassroots effort of a coalition of parents to send their children to their local feeder middle school were Spanish speaking and of higher socioeconomic status. All three of these women (Luz, Maria, and Dolores) were married to English-speaking men, owned their homes, and chose to work outside of the home or to stay home. In this sense, their interests converged not according to their majority/minority status but according to socioeconomic status and language. Janice and Lyla, English-speaking mothers, did not speak of the movement to attend the local middle school. They both said they would not, or were unlikely to, send their children there. They did not have the same linguistic connection to the program that the Spanish-speaking mothers did.

My study expands the notion of interest convergence to include populations of different socioeconomic statuses to illustrate how interests converge. As I have previously mentioned, in my study, the feeder middle school population was made up of over 80% Latinx students, but the school was 100% economically disadvantaged, indicating that class plays a larger role than language or racial differences in perceptions of the school. In this situation, I think interest convergence could be beneficial for all parties if increased attendance to the local school could help the school develop a solid

program and operate a more linguistically balanced model. For this convergence of interests to be successful, the community would have to operate with a critical consciousness, which I discuss next, and have open dialogue about cross-class issues, power dynamics, and the interests of the underserved population.

Critical Consciousness

Recall that critical consciousness is "the process of overcoming pervasive myths through a deep understanding of the role of power in the formation of oppressive conditions" (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017, p. 27) and that to practice critical consciousness is "to reflectively discern the differences in power and privilege rooted in social relationships that structure inequalities and shape the material conditions of our lives..." (Palmer et al., 2019, p. 123). Being critically conscious in the context of my study means that the stakeholders can engage in work that critically analyzes instructional practices, curriculum, and policies. In my study, the contrast between school assistant principals suggests the importance of a leader with a critical consciousness who advocates for DLE and the Spanish-speaking population. For example, at Butterfield, Filipe spoke of the division in the PK3 and PK4 lotteries that favored the Spanish-speaking population with a 60/40 split between that population and the English-speaking population. This division was a school-based decision to give priority to the NSS population as the neighborhood demographics changed and shifted towards an English-speaking population. Filipe talked about the efforts to maintain and keep the populations for which the program was created, particularly as the neighborhood gentrifies. He also discussed not trying to attract or keep the "pioneer kids" (gentrifiers) and explained his efforts were focused on the populations

that were original to the community (although curiously, the experience of Natalie, the African American mother, did not speak to this effort).

In contrast, at Juniper, the division of Spanish/English speakers was 50/50, which did not favor the Latinx population despite significant neighborhood gentrification. Amaya, one of the assistant principals, mentioned "commitment" and "investment" strictly in relation to English-speaking families. For example, she stated,

> …I do wonder do we do a good job of ensuring that those families understand the commitment to being in a dual language program….The kids only learn math in Spanish, and they only learn math in Spanish for the rest of their time here.

My perspective is that Amaya lacks a critical consciousness as demonstrated by her focus on the language majority population, not the Spanish-speaking population. Her use of language also demonstrates a commodification of dual language as an investment, which is typically a word related to economic notions.

A critical consciousness is key for leaders and policymakers involved in dual language education because of the underlying power dynamics within different socioeconomic classes and language groups who are sharing an educational space. Due to the integration of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, and racial backgrounds, critical consciousness must be an integral part of the DLE model (Palmer et al., 2019). Cultivating this awareness in a DLE context will help the populations support social justice and increase equity among them (Palmer et al., 2019). The examples I discuss next show where school leaders have, or may lack, a critical consciousness. More research should investigate the existence of a critical consciousness in these particular programs and in DLE programs across the district. Overall, I did not find many elements

of critical consciousness present in the leaders in my study. In an attempt to make sense of my findings, I used Palmer et al.'s (2019) classification of elements of critical consciousness. Please Table 25 for an overview of this classification scheme.

Table 25

Critical Consciousness Elements Found in School Administrators and District Personnel

Element of critical consciousness	Definition	Juniper	Butterfield	Central office
Interrogating power	Conducting "equity audits" that examine resources/outcomes for groups (district level). How power structures maintain privilege or deny access, such as "academic outcomes for students from English-dominant versus Spanish-dominant or bilingual homes; students' access to curricula and teachers' expertise/education levels; the nature of students' participation in classroom discourse; language used in different settings; and recruitment/enrollment practices" (p. 124).	The notion of Amaya focusing on the English-speaking population indicates that she does not interrogate power.	Filipe questions the commitment/work around DLE programs with non-Spanish-speaking populations. Also pushes back on the district in terms of its definition of equity and its role in the maintenance of the status quo.	Mechanism to help Spanish-speakers is too simplified to talk about the EB versus Spanish-dominant populations. Difference between "equity of access" versus equitable access for EB students. Isabel pushes back on some power structures.

Table 25 (continued)

Historicizing schools	"Deconstructing mainstream explanations of the past and foregrounding individuals' and communities' local histories" (p. 125).	Amaya talks about how the community has changed over time but does not acknowledge the history of the community as a Spanish-speaking community or the African American population.	Filipe knows about the history of the school and explains the racial dynamics at play and the balance of the population and conflicting interests between a mostly African American population and a Latinx population.	Neglected in this particular group (its omission is relevant).
Critical listening	This practice involves "attending to discursive patterns in classrooms, acknowledging privilege, recognizing subjugated voices, and relinquishing power" (p. 126).	Lyla mentions that she comes from a place of privilege when sharing that her family has decided to move. This acknowledgement does not result in any actions.	Luz acknowledges her privilege verbally but continues to apply to the lottery in an attempt to get into a specific DLE school.	Isabel talks about "educational necessity" of program for Spanish-speaking EBs.
Embracing discomfort	Acknowledgement of un-earned privilege…. learning about difference and social relations of power through embracing discomfort… (p. 128).	Not present in this study.	Not present in this study.	Not present in this study.

Note. Information in columns one and two from "Bilingualism, Biliteracy, Biculturalism, and Critical Consciousness for All: Proposing a Fourth Fundamental Goal for Two-Way Dual Language Education" by D. Palmer, C. Cervantes-Soon, L. Dorner, and D. Heiman, 2019, *Theory into Practice*, *58*(2), pp. 124–128 (https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2019.1569376).

As noted in Table 25, "Embracing discomfort" was not a theme that came up in my findings. At Butterfield, Luz spoke of "White guilt" and acknowledging privilege, but she did so while also re-applying to the lottery to try to get her children into Morado. In her case, it would be interesting to follow up and hear more about what she meant by

White guilt and acknowledging her privilege as well as how she put that acknowledgment into action. The participants did not talk about privilege or blatantly acknowledge socioeconomic differences. I think this finding in my study demonstrates that there is room for the district, schools, and parents to work on conversations not only about racial differences (as the "courageous conversation" program dictates) but also about linguistic and socioeconomic differences. I think acknowledging, for example, that both of these schools represent changing communities and the historical roots of those communities would help all stakeholders understand the perspectives of the marginalized community. Also, acknowledging power, for example, in the way systems are set up to favor one group (finding the calendar online, like Beatriz had to), would help stakeholders evaluate whether the systems work in favor of all demographics or only those who historically have more privileges.

Further research could use this framework to evaluate the critical consciousness of a school administrator, a school's culture, or the district in relation to DLE programs. For my study, I did not begin with these elements as a frame, which makes it more difficult to then use them to categorize findings. I think that my struggle in categorization is an indication that critical consciousness was not openly present in my findings. It is possible that there are other elements within Butterfield and Juniper that exhibit a critical consciousness but that I did not uncover them in my study.

Equity

Equity is a major theme in my research as I seek to understand how the systems in place in this particular school district contribute to, or hinder, equitable access to DLE programs. For the purposes of this paper, I refer to equitable access, or the ability for

populations to access the resources they need to succeed, specifically for Spanish-speaking EB students. The first way to achieve equitable access is through *systemic equity,* which refers to how systems align and reach towards equitable access. The second way to achieve equitable access is through *programmatic equity*, (Lindholm-Leary, 2018) which refers to program design. To understand this theme in my data, I discuss equitable access in these terms.

Equitable Access versus Equity of Access

Early on in my research, I realized that my term, *equitable access,* differed from what the school district referred to as *equity of access*. According to the former interim chancellor of the district of study, equity of access, as used in the district, refers to students' ability to "access quality and specialized programs outside of designated schools assigned by residence" (Alexander, 2018). At Juniper, while Jackie talked about dual language as a way to close the achievement gap, she was not talking about the gap between Latinx and White students or between Black and White students. Rather, she was talking about the global gap of the U.S. and bi/multilingual populations in other countries. Her equity focus implies a commodification of dual language in terms of global competitiveness. Barbara, the Enrollment Specialist, discussed equity of access and balancing this type of access with the program goals of serving EL students. She discussed the challenge of leaders in dual language schools wanting to serve EL students but also giving more enrollment access to other populations. In this sense, I do not think that the concepts of equity of access and equitable access are the same. The district promotes equity of access, which is the general notion of giving *more* access to

specialized programs for *all students* but which is not considered from a linguistic lens, or from an *educational equity* lens, for Spanish-speaking EB students.

Systemic Equity

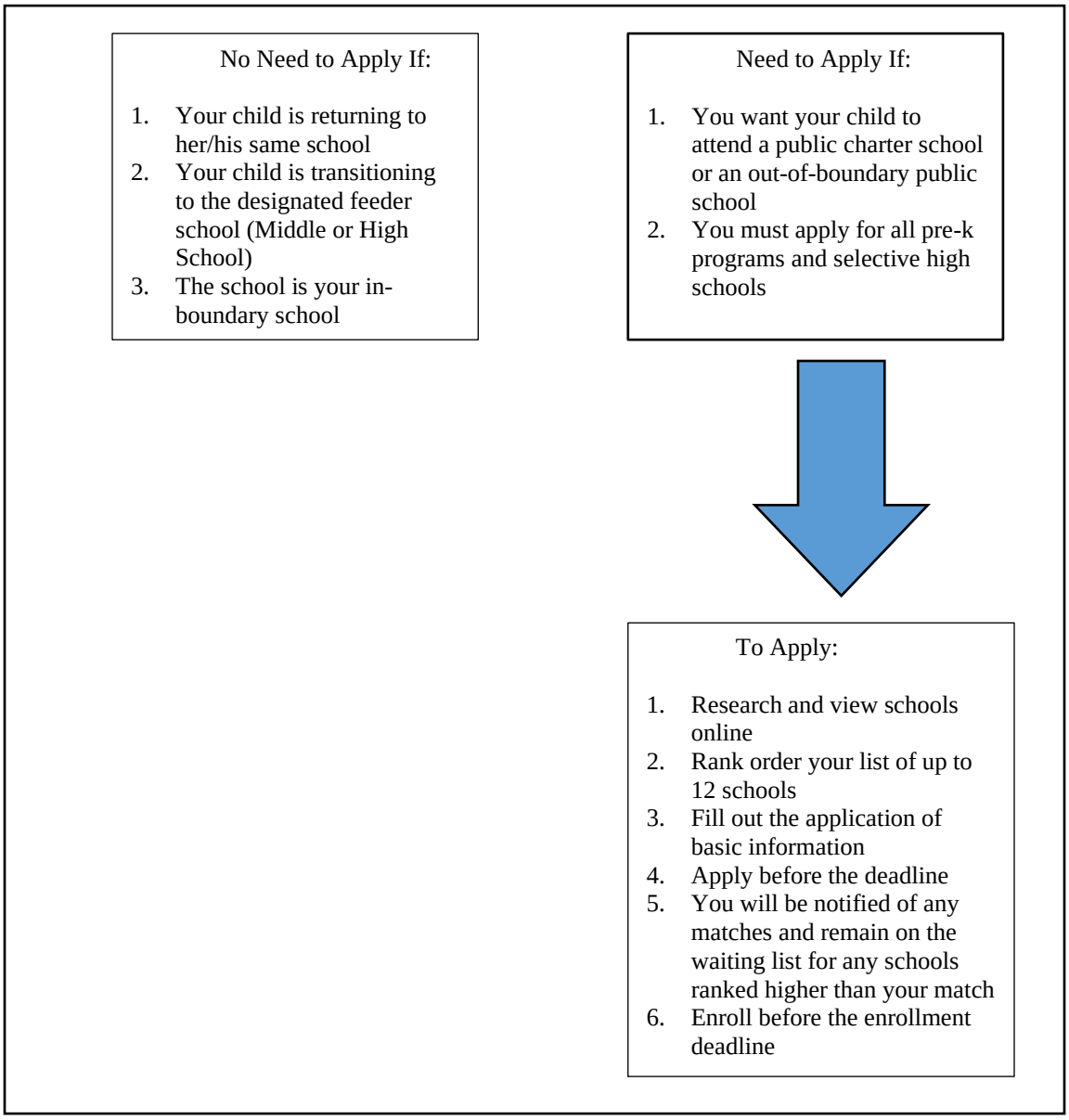
Systemic equity includes access to information and sources of information regarding school choices, which includes information at the district level itself; at the school level; and at the levels of other parents, neighbors, and the community. Systemic equity is a factor at several points, including the lottery and the language pools. I will discuss each of these in turn.

Lottery. The lottery system serves as a systemic way to access dual language programs. Figure 5 outlines the lottery application process. As demonstrated by Table 18 in the previous chapter, the waiting lists for these programs are long. If the school is a family's "school of right" because the family lives in the same neighborhood, the family can attend that school. If a family's school of right does not have a whole school DLE program but has a DLE strand program, that family's "school of right" applies only to the EO program; the family still has to succeed in the lottery to gain admittance to the DLE strand program. In the case of a whole school DLE program, a family has the right to attend that school whether or not the family speaks the languages in the DLE program (although past first-grade, students likely have to take a language test). Families also have the right to attend a sister school in the same neighborhood if they choose not to enroll in DLE. Historically, whole school DLE programs have been in communities that are

largely Latinx, but as neighborhoods change and housing prices increase (see Table 24) lower-income Latinx families could be forced to relocate.

Figure 5

The Focal District's Lottery Application Process



Note. Adapted from the focal district's lottery website.

Language Pools. The use of language pools, or groupings of Spanish-dominant and English-dominant students, is a way to make sure lottery mechanisms support program goals through the division of students by language when they apply. In some cases in my study, schools also used these pools to favor the Spanish-dominant population prior to neighborhood access (PK3 and PK4) because of shifting neighborhood demographics. Several parents who participated in my study, mainly English-speaking parents, were confused by this division or thought indicating on the application that their child was a Spanish-dominant speaker would give their child a higher probability of access to this program. In several cases, parents explained that their children had Spanish-speaking caretakers and understood Spanish perfectly but did not speak it, and they questioned whether they should indicate their child was Spanish-dominant. District officials also cited this example as a strategy middle-class parents used to try to get their children into the program. Unfortunately, because schools had different ways (or in some cases, did not have any way) to "test" this claim, access differed between programs.

Barbara spoke of the correlation between Spanish-dominant and EL students but also noted that the two were not required together in the lottery. She said, "So it's making sure that there is an access point that is more likely to serve English learner families, even if it's not a direct mechanism for that." What is unclear about this claim is why there is no direct mechanism for EL students. I can only speculate that when the mechanism was designed, the district did not anticipate it would need to consider any qualifications other than language to provide distinct groups access to this program. Second, the district could implement this division and use, in theory, a test to ensure that the Spanish-dominant

students were Spanish-proficient (some schools do). If the district were to use the distinction of Spanish-dominant EL, for example, that would require an additional testing mechanism, such as the WIDA (formerly World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment), to determine these students' level of English. Not only would this process be more onerous but also it would require more compliance from schools that may or may not have the resources to do this.

School leaders in my study did have the control and power to decide on the balance between the two languages at the entry levels (PK3 and PK4) before access to the schools became a neighborhood right. Juniper, for example, reserved 50% of seats for Spanish-dominant students and 50% for English-dominant students, whereas Butterfield had a 60/40 split. Some schools, such as Morado, for example, had a 90/10 split towards Spanish-dominant students because the neighborhood was largely English-speaking, and this division ensured that the school had a sufficient number of Spanish-speaking students to maintain a DLE program in the elementary grades.

While this division between languages is a positive step to ensure access for Spanish-speakers to DLE programs, it is insufficient to provide equitable access to said programs. For example, Spanish-dominant in no way implies that a student is also acquiring English and is not already bilingual. In my second interview with Isabel, she spoke of how she and the DLE school principals were discussing the possibility of targeting EL students by changing the description of these pools. For example, a pool that were called "Spanish-speaking English Learner" would identify different students than a pool called "Spanish-dominant," which could apply to a child such as my oldest child, Vivian, who spoke more Spanish than English in her first three years. If used, this revised

category would put all other students, whether bilingual or monolingual, into another language pool, and this move would make it more difficult for already bilingual students to participate in these programs, lessening their access.

Unregulated Systemic Access

As evident in the interviews I conducted, there are ways to access the DLE programs that are unregulated by the district and happen at the school level. First, Amaya spoke about moving a student from the EO program to the DLE program even though she did not think the student would pass the Spanish language test; Amaya said that in her opinion, the DLE program would be better for the student. There were rumors—shared by several participants—of families who had sold their addresses or who had moved out of the school district but still attended the school. Interestingly, Gloria correlated this finding by saying that some families moved to a neighboring state but that they must have gotten into the school via the lottery because she still saw them there. Not only does this example show how these access mechanisms are still allowing unregulated access, but it also demonstrates Gloria's lack of understanding of the lottery system, as residents who live outside of the district cannot attend any district school that has a local resident on the waiting list.

Programmatic Equity

As Lindholm-Leary (2018) described, programmatic equity refers to the specific aspects of the dual language program that promote or hinder equity. For example, the model of school, such as a whole school dual language program versus a strand program, is an example programmatic equity.

In contrast to a whole school model, in which all students have access to a DLE program, a strand program creates a division between the "haves" and the "have nots," those in the DLE program and those in the EO program. Juniper's transition to a whole school model indicates that more students will have access to the program because the school will open up more spaces for students in DLE by removing the EO program. Not all students whose parents participated in my study would be transitioning to the DLE program, and Juniper was particularly seeing a shift in the African American population out of the school and into a different elementary school. This finding is similar to Palmer's (2010) research on one strand program and its impact on equity within its school. While this trend is beyond the scope of my study, it merits attention from an equity perspective and from a perspective that questions how the school leader and district are informing and educating families on the DLE program. Further research would explore the specific enrollment patterns and changes over the last decade at both of these schools (and perhaps in DLE schools in general in the district) to understand why and how the African American population either decides to leave this educational model or is excluded from it.

Choice and Access

Choice does not necessarily indicate access, let alone equitable access, which I hope this study makes clear. All of my Juniper participants, both Spanish and English speakers, lived in the Juniper neighborhood and had the right to attend Juniper. With two exceptions, all families entered Juniper through the PK lottery mechanism with neighborhood preference (and all were likely Spanish dominant, although Juniper uses a 50/50 linguistic split, so this factor does not indicate an advantage). Curiously, the two

Spanish-speaking parents who had children come into the program at a later time (Beatriz and Consuelo) did not have access to the DLE education program. In Consuelo's case, she had assumed the school was a full DLE school and noticed the discrepancy when her daughter's homework was in English. She approached the administration, who pushed back with the bureaucratic mechanism of a language test, but she then managed to get her daughter into the DLE program. Beatriz did not have the same experience. In her case, her son attended Juniper, left, and then returned. At neither time was she offered the DLE program, even though she had asked and would have preferred it. In the case of all of these Spanish-speakers, I question how much choice they had in their school decisions. This claim is more evident in the cases of Beatriz and Consuelo because they did not have a choice of program. For the other Spanish speakers, they all expressed contentment with the DLE program because of the educational environment that allowed their children to maintain and nurture their native language. However, the fact that all of these parents lived in the neighborhood makes me question choice as a relative concept.

In the case of Butterfield, both Gloria and Alejandra learned about the DLE program through their experience at a charter school that offered adult education and an early childhood program. When I asked Gloria about school options for her daughter, she talked about looking for schools that were not "the best" schools, which seems contrary to what most parents would aspire to for their children. This notion is particularly in contrast to the English-speaking parents (and Laura) who wanted the most desirable middle school option for their children. Why did Gloria not want "the best" schools for her daughter? Why did these schools not factor into her decision and her school choice? She made a comment about looking for schools that were "comfortable" and "secure" for

her daughter in relation to her comment about not looking for the best schools, and she spoke about how differences in skin color did not matter as long as there was respect in the school and her daughter was learning. She talked about there being so much racism and bullying in schools these days, and she tried to teach her daughter about it. I did not ask her directly why she did not want the best schools for her daughter, but this comment that was tied to another comment about ignoring racial differences made me wonder if she had experienced discrimination and perhaps felt the color of her daughter's skin would impede her chances to get into the "best" schools. Even if she wanted "the best" schools, perhaps she thought they would be hard for her daughter to get into because of the demand for them.

In this district, the choice system in general gives families the option to leave their neighborhood school (if they get into one of their desired options) at any stage in the school selection process. In some cases, families are offered spots in schools mid-school year, and they can either choose to transition or to stay in their current placement. While most participants in this study seemed content with their elementary school options, some participants still chose to "play" the lottery to see if they could get into a "better" school. In the case of middle school, the choice system used by the district seems to exacerbate inequities in the sense that people can "play" the lottery until they get out of their local option and into a different option that either feeds into their ideal middle school or into a different middle school. In this sense, I think this choice system could lead to what Bifulco et al. (2007) found in their study, which was that as others exercise choice, the students who continued at the local school tended to be the most underprivileged. I think this choice system indicates as well that there is very little incentive to "buy-in" to the

local school unless a family makes a conscious effort or does not particularly consider choice as an option. In the next chapter, I offer policy suggestions that could help alleviate the inequity in this system.

Communication and Access

This research makes abundantly clear that the communication between the district and the families at the schools is ineffective. District officials do not use effective communication strategies to engage families, as evidenced in the section of this chapter in which I discussed the middle school theme. My research also revealed communication issues at different levels. For example, Filipe told me that his school did not receive any books in Spanish despite being a DLE school. He said, “We'll get all these English books, but nothing in Spanish. There's no effort to understand we need to source different books.” This disconnect between the local school needs and the central office indicates that DLE program needs can be overlooked.

Another example, perhaps the most enlightening, was the only negative element that Beatriz mentioned as a “room for growth” comment at Juniper. She described it as a “little thing,” but to me it represents a much larger problem. She talked about arriving at school one day with her son only to discover that there was no school. She was advised that this information was on the district’s website and that she had to navigate there to find out about the school closings. This demonstrates that the district and its communication efforts cater to those who are technologically savvy, likely similarly to the ways in which district officials themselves would navigate the system. The district’s communication efforts do not reflect or account for linguistic, systematic, socioeconomic, or educational differences, and this situation will continue to push members of the

minoritized and marginalized population further out unless there is a concentrated effort to meet them where they are and work with them in a way that is effective and comfortable for them.

My findings also show a conflict in communication between "overselling" the DLE program (because the district does not have the resources or capacity to extend the model) and providing or offering the model as a service-delivery program for Spanish-speaking EB students. Isabel mentioned that her office had been told not to go out and promote the program because of the district's limited capacity to expand it. Both Vicki and Noah mentioned the balance between telling people about DLE programs as an option for enrollment and recognizing that these programs were not a realistic option because the demand for them was so high (see Table 18 for waitlist information).

Conclusion

Organizing my findings in terms of my conceptual framework allowed me to understand how these different themes played out in my study. For example, by applying Ruiz's (1984) language planning orientations, I could understand and make sense of the way that different participants in my study thought of language, specifically in terms of the DLE programs. Their language orientations indicated how they perceived DLE, which has implications for successful program implementation. While my research questions do not address language orientations per se, it is impossible to ignore language ideologies within research that involves DLE programs, particularly as they deal with historically marginalized and underserved populations in the context of a language majority population. While I could have used different or more language ideologies to frame this work, Ruiz's (1984) orientations provided me with important categories for

classifying language views and helped me understand how different players perceive language in this context. The discussion points to the need for further investigation into the link between stakeholder language ideology/orientation and perception of DLE. The way in which stakeholders frame their language provides us deeper understanding of their underlying language ideology.

Interest convergence is another particularly important concept as DLE programs become more popular with the English-speaking majority and this population seeks access to them. While the interest of the majority population in these programs could potentially benefit the Latinx population in the long-term, as Morales and Maravilla (2019) discussed in relation to the community they studied in their research, the specific district I studied is still too early in the process to examine this outcome. Furthermore, my results show not only English speakers are interested in DLE; Spanish speakers of higher socioeconomic means with an interest in their children maintaining their native language are also interested in DLE. Additionally, my results indicate that the categorization of diversity, neighborhood school, and grassroots efforts as interest convergence elements did not necessarily show divisions based on language background but rather divisions based on socioeconomic background, as indicated by discussion points shared in interviews (such as owning one's house or having achieved high educational attainment, for example).

Critical consciousness provides another important theme to consider when thinking about the interests of the linguistic minority in the educational setting I studied. Unfortunately, I find evidence of this theme is largely lacking from the specific cases examined in this study, particularly in terms of the school leaders and central office

personnel. While there are pockets or slight indications of a critical consciousness on the part of school leaders, such as Filipe, and district personnel, such as Isabel, the system as a whole seems to lack this important element. DLE programs must entail and acknowledge critical consciousness to foster education, advance understanding, and honor the experiences of a historically underserved population. Critical consciousness in both school leaders and district personnel is fundamental to the implementation of DLE programs, particularly in this district where these programs mix very different socioeconomic classes of students.

Lastly, I considered various subthemes of equity in this study to show what efforts to this end are underway and where the system could improve. While the elimination of strand programs may not be possible in all schools across the district, the whole school model favors equitable access because not only do all students within the school have access to the program, but it also eliminates the programmatic divide between the "haves" and "have nots." While the lottery and the language pools are systems that provide for more equitable access, linguistic determinations, such as "Spanish-dominant" versus "Spanish-speaking EB," will need to be examined to determine how, if at all, they cater to and help the linguistic minority with access to these programs. As Valdes (1997) observed, these conclusions strike me as a "cautionary note" for the district, as the district should re-consider policies that promote equitable access to these programs. In Chapter 6, I address implications of these findings for policy, research, and practice.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Implications

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide information to various stakeholders in the realm of DLE. In this final chapter, I revisit my conceptual framework, discuss the scholarly and practical significance of this work, address implications, and offer advice to stakeholders. I divide the implications into the three sections: policy, practice, and research. While some of these implications occur across categories, I organize them in a way that is relevant and useful to the focal district. Lastly, I conclude with advice for the three groups of stakeholders and next steps to take in sharing this work with the focal district of this study.

Revisiting the Conceptual Framework

I started this research project with certain theoretical frames in mind and adjusted them as I advanced and read more theoretical and conceptual scholarship. For example, I originally thought critical race theory would fit my project, but I discovered that within this theory, there is a specific concept, interest convergence, that better fit my research. Similarly, while I initially included social justice as a frame, I narrowed this broad field to the more specific notion of critical consciousness. On the other hand, in the case of Ruiz's (1984) language orientations, I both narrowed and expanded my frame. First, I reviewed literature on language ideologies more broadly before narrowing in on his orientations. I originally only considered language-as-resource for this work, but I decided to incorporate all three of his orientations as a more accurate way to frame my findings. Additionally, through this research, I realized that my orientation towards this work is a language-as-right orientation. I believe that Spanish-speaking EB students should have access to DLE programs as a right, as it is an educational necessity and not

an enrichment for this population. Equity, and equitable access, are important overarching issues in this timely and important topic. The use of more specific concepts within different theories allowed me to examine my research questions in a way that made sense to me and that accurately fit my cases and helped me understand my findings. Initially I investigated separate organic themes in addition to the themes that emerged from the conceptual framework, but I merged these two sections into one because they both related to my overarching conceptual framework.

My understanding and use of the interest convergence frame also shifted throughout the duration of this research and analysis. I realized in some cases that interests converged not just between Spanish-speaking and English-speaking families but also between socio-economic perspectives. The interests of more affluent Spanish speakers converge with the interests of the low-income Spanish-speaking community, and this convergence will be successful if coupled with critical consciousness, meaning that the language minority students would be prioritized and recognized as the primary beneficiaries of the DLE model because they are the population that has been marginalized historically. However, my research shows the marginalized population is not just the language minority population but rather consists specifically of the low-income language minority population. The interest convergence lens allowed me to understand the socio-economic component and complexity of this dynamic. The interests of the majority can still be honored through their access and participation in this model, but this should only occur if there is a conscious effort to acknowledge the class, race, and linguistic differences that are present when different communities come together in a DLE program. This acknowledgement of differences also relates to the four elements

related to critical consciousness that Palmer et al. (2019) discussed: historicizing schools, interrogating power, critical listening, and embracing discomfort. These elements are important factors for realizing critical consciousness in the context of DLE, particularly when interest convergence is relevant, as it is in my study.

Scholarly Significance of Work

This work is timely, relevant, and important as the focal district faces increased demand for DLE programs, as neighborhood demographics shift, and as educators continue to think of ways to serve the most vulnerable and historically marginalized students. This dissertation makes an original contribution to the field by bringing together the theoretical notions of interest convergence and critical consciousness and the perspectives of various stakeholders.

In the district of this study, DLE was designed as a service delivery model for Spanish-speaking EB students, but gentrification and popularity had increased demand among a broader population, including the English-speaking population and middle/upper-class Spanish-speakers; this increased demand could threaten access for the population that this model was intended to serve. While neighborhood entry may continue to work in historically Latinx communities, my worry is that these communities will be denied access as gentrification continues. Furthermore, not all Latinx communities have access to a DLE program and the district does not promote the model because of resource limitations and difficulty in meeting current demand. Many students who would benefit from a DLE program do not currently have access.

It is important for district officials to understand how parents perceive school choice decisions, and this study provides that knowledge. A body of previous research

examines how and why parents choose DLE programs, and this study contributes to that literature. This study also includes a diverse group of Spanish speakers and incorporates the perspectives of school administrators and district personnel, providing an additional level of data in our understanding of how this system works and aligns with or diverges from the perspectives of parents. By including the perspectives of English-speaking, mostly White families who chose urban schools, I contribute to this emerging body of literature. I also broaden this scope by including Spanish-speaking families of a higher socioeconomic class who also chose their urban public school. This addition provides more information and complexity because it illustrates that the dynamics in these DLE programs are not only racial and linguistic, but also class based.

This study is also relevant to the current body of literature on school lottery systems in a unique way by only including the traditional public-school options. This study showed the access mechanisms used in the focal district (a lottery system and neighborhood right-to-attend) cater to those who can navigate the system or live in-boundary for a DLE school. This research provides perspective on how this system may both contribute to, and hinder equitable access, particularly as we think about the regulated and unregulated ways that stakeholders navigate this lottery system.

Practical Significance of Work

Because one of the purposes of this dissertation is to provide insight to stakeholders on different perspectives regarding access to DLE programs within the focal district, it seems appropriate to include how this study is significant for all the stakeholders involved, particularly the district itself. This study provides insight to district officials about how and why *different* groups and types of parents are choosing

DLE programs and how these groups and types of parents understand their access to the model. For example, the inclusion of both affluent and low-income Spanish speakers demonstrates that these two groups share linguistic similarities but still experience their access to programs and the programs themselves differently. This information is critical for the focal district as it continues to work towards equitable access to DLE programs. Additionally, the perspective of Emily, the Ethiopian mother, demonstrates a parent who places an emphasis on multilingualism even though she does not have a cultural connection to Spanish. Similarly, Natalie, the African American mother who felt excluded from Butterfield's community both linguistically and culturally, could provide important insight for the district as it seeks to include the African American community in DLE models.

My study also contributes to the understanding of how a diverse group of parents uses the lottery system. In some cases, this use was to enter a pre-kindergarten program or to access a DLE strand program. Some families entered through the lottery mechanism in pre-k and then continued in the same school but reevaluated their options for middle school and high school. In other cases, families continually played the lottery either to get into a "better" school or into an elementary school that fed into their choice of middle school that would then feed into a preferred high school. As we saw with Beatriz, the lottery was overwhelming; she would have preferred just having one school that was a guaranteed option instead of wondering if her son would be accepted to Juniper. Even though she technically had in-boundary access to Juniper, she did not have access to the DLE program because it was a strand within the school. Because of the long waiting lists at these schools and other sought-after DLE and general education programs (such as at

Hobbs Middle School), the lottery provides the *façade* of choice but not an actual choice for school. My study shows that people who could afford it, such as Lyla, chose to move to the neighborhood that guaranteed access to their preferred program. Others, such as Luz and Maria, hoped to band together to attend their local feeder school with a substantial population of parents similar to them. However, these parents still considered their other options (Luz kept participating in the lottery and Maria's family considered moving to a neighboring county).

My findings suggest access to information through social networking is a significant way for all families to gain information about schools and programs in the district. For example, Janice mentioned her neighbor hosted a gathering to talk about Juniper, and Beatriz said she only knew about the one middle school that her neighbor mentioned to her. Alejandra did not know the name of her neighborhood school and applied to Butterfield via the lottery. This choice is disconcerting as she was not able to consider all options, including her neighborhood school, but only the option that was recommended to her by someone in her adult education program. Overall, the level of information that participants received was dependent on their social network, which varied between social classes. This difference is important for the district to know because with this knowledge, the district can develop different methods for informing different groups of families about their options depending upon how those different groups access information. This knowledge is critical for district officials as they examine school choice patterns, enrollment, and lottery participation among parents.

Implications

This dissertation has implications for all the participants, including parents, school administrators, and central office personnel related to DLE. I sought to shed light on *how* and *why* parents are choosing these programs as well as on how their perspectives and experiences coincide with or diverge from school administrator and district perspectives. In this section, I provide implications for three main areas: policy, practice, and research. In some cases, these implications can easily fit in more than one area, but I have assigned each implication to just one area to avoid ambiguity.

Policy

This study has implications for the continued access of Spanish-speaking EB students to DLE at these schools and perhaps at public DLE schools across the district. As neighborhood demographics shift, schools and the district should consider implementing a district-wide lottery mechanism with priority access for Spanish-speaking EB/EL students to DLE programs. My recommendation to implement a priority access mechanism for Spanish-speaking EB/EL students to DLE programs means that schools would weight Spanish speakers more heavily or have more seats available to them in the lottery as applied to the PK years. While some schools target a Spanish-dominant population in the PK lotteries, this targeting varies by school and does not account specifically for EL students. To correct for these school-based differences, the central office should change the language of the lottery categories to target Spanish-speaking EB students (as opposed to Spanish-dominant) and streamline the process to verify students are Spanish-speaking (whether through an oral assessment or a parent

interview, the process should be the same across the schools to ensure equitable access to programs).

This study also shows differences in parents' access to information, particularly at Juniper where parents could not access the DLE program for their children even though they lived in the neighborhood. The district and the lottery system should consider a policy that either indicates through an online "pop up" mechanism that a school offers more than one program or that requires a mandatory statement on the enrollment document confirming that the school's models have been shared with the parent (which parents would have to sign to acknowledge). This issue will change at Juniper once the school completes its transition to a whole school model, but it could still be problematic at other schools with DLE strand programs.

Additionally, this study demonstrates the importance of the local district engaging the community in conversation about the feeder middle school that serves Butterfield and Juniper. These efforts include providing tours, information forums, and chances to meet and converse with the Rosewood principal so that parents can have more information about the school and feel more confident in their decisions. As the local district redraws its school boundaries and feeder pattern in the next few years, it should seriously consider creating at least one additional whole school dual language middle school. The way the feeder system and school boundaries are currently set, not all elementary schools that feed into the local feeder middle school have DLE programs. This situation makes it impossible for the district to establish a whole school DLE program at that local feeder middle school because that school serves groups of students who did not experience DLE at the elementary level. Furthermore, only four middle school options currently offer a

DLE program (one charter; three public). If the district were to rezone the schools so that one middle school corresponded to the elementary dual language programs, the district could create a whole school DLE model at that middle school. This rezoning would not only allow a way for students to continue on the dual language track and benefit from a bilingual education, but the rezoning would also eliminate the problem of having to rely on a strand program at the middle school level, a model that often results in difficulties similar to what was observed at Juniper.

At both Juniper and Butterfield, I am concerned that the school administrators are not as invested in the schools' historically minoritized populations, and I suggest some needed work toward equity. For example, at Juniper, both school leaders exhibited favoritism toward the English-speaking population: Amaya prioritized them in her discussion of the program, while Jackie talked about DLE as a way for the United States to maintain its global competitiveness. In the case of Butterfield, it is concerning that Natalie felt marginalized as an African American in the program, and in this case, more education and involvement with this population would strengthen both the model and this population's engagement. The district could implement professional development at each DLE school and explicitly state in its mission how it follows Palmer et al.'s (2019) four categories of critical consciousness. This work would provide a specific frame of reference for schools to begin to examine their own critical consciousness, where they are implementing such measures, and where there is room for improvement.

Practice

Critical consciousness must be an integrated part of a DLE program (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2019), particularly in communities with vast differences

in socioeconomic and language status. In these contexts, a leader with a critical consciousness is necessary to support the populations for whom these programs are intended and to ensure that the interests of the minoritized population are not overlooked in favor of the English-speaking majority. In the focal district of this study, critical consciousness should be integrated at the district level to ensure that Spanish-speaking EB students have access to DLE programs as part of equitable access, as opposed to equity of access for a broader group of students.

Implications for practice also include curricular changes to promote critical consciousness among students. These changes should be grade-level appropriate and could fit within current units or themes; the aim of the changed curriculum should be to make students more aware of the historical struggles of marginalized groups and of the linguistic, socioeconomic, and racial differences between people.

Research

One implication of this study for additional research is the need to discern how parents make school decisions over time. Discerning this could occur in two different ways. First, research could examine how parents' decisions shift over the course of a school year. Second, longitudinal research could be conducted that could examine how parents' decisions change from early entry (such as in pre-kindergarten), to school age, to the end of elementary school, and to the transition to middle school. The transition to, and perception of, middle school is an area ripe for more research, particularly in the focal district as it moves to create feeder patterns from elementary DLE schools to middle and secondary-level DLE schools. This research could also explore in more depth how families use the lottery system over time and how they perceive this process.

Future research could also explore different stakeholders and their levels of critical consciousness using Palmer et al.'s (2019) framework as a reference and guide. In the focal district, this information could aid the district, school leaders, and policy makers in understanding how different levels of critical consciousness may impact program implementation and educational outcomes for Spanish-speaking EB students. This research could also explore power dynamics within DLE programs and how, if at all, district and school leaders work to shift these balances.

Furthermore, including additional perspectives of parents in DLE programs, specifically in strand programs, is crucial to understanding how these families decide on the program and access it. This research could also include analysis of cultural differences in the school environments. For example, while my research focused on Spanish-speaking families, the voice and perspectives of the African American population is largely absent from the literature. As Juniper moves to a whole school model, for example, there is concern that the African American population will leave the school. Research should document African American parents' perspectives on DLE and why they might choose (or not choose) this model. The voice and perspective of families who do not participate in the lottery is also missing from this research. Further research should document the experiences of families who choose to attend their neighborhood school, specifically historically underserved populations, in an effort to understand their perceptions of choice and their school experiences. This research could investigate the 40% of at-risk families who do not use the lottery system.

Other equitable access issues that came up in my study should be addressed in future research. These issues include parent access to volunteer opportunities and access

to summer and extracurricular school programming for historically underserved populations. In the course of my research, I learned that all parent volunteers must be fingerprinted, which is problematic for undocumented parents because the district cannot verify what the Federal Bureau of Investigation does with the fingerprints. Additionally, I learned that the low-income Spanish-speaking families who participated in the study did not have access to after-school programming at Juniper because the registration system allowed both online and in-person access. By the time the in-person registration opened, the program slots were already filled by families who accessed the registration system online. Similar to my primary research, this further research should explore other systems and procedures in place to understand how they may hinder access to these resources for the district's historically underserved populations.

Advice to Parents

In general, parents want the best for their children and make decisions based on available information and resources. It is important for parents to ask questions if they are confused by a situation, particularly in cases when schools offer more than one educational model. Parents can be their children's best advocates, so parents must be willing to question decisions that impact their children and that may or may not be in the child's best interest. I urge parents to talk to school personnel, people in their neighborhood communities, and other parents at their schools to understand how well the school is working for their children.

Advice to School Administrators

I hope school administrators can reflect on the unique and diverse populations of students they serve, school cultures, and how these two elements converge and diverge.

As more middle-class parents choose urban schools, school administrators have to work consciously to ensure that the needs of their underserved populations are prioritized and served. Such efforts may lead to some uncomfortable conversations, but these conversations are important to ensure that equity is achieved. I think school administrators constantly need to question how and why they create processes the way they do and how these processes impact the various populations they are intended to serve. For example, a parent-teacher meeting that occurs always at 9:00 a.m. is not conducive to a working parent's schedule and can exclude diverse parent voices from participating in these conversations. How might the meetings occur in a way that can engage a variety of parents? For example, the meetings could occur every other month in the evening after working hours and include childcare. The school community must think of how its policies affect all families and do its best to engage all members creatively.

Advice to District Personnel

District personnel should continue to reflect upon how their policies and programs can serve all populations, particularly the populations of students that have been most overlooked by these systems and policies in the past. If the district tried to understand its efforts through the eyes of vulnerable families, it could see how some of these systems are unworkable, particularly ones requiring access to technology or the internet, one or both of which may not be available to all families. I urge the district to continue having conversations around equitable access to DLE and equitable access to the lottery more generally. I think it is critical that district personnel consider the various groups of learners in their system and ways the district can meet the needs of these students so they can be successful. I also encourage the district to start conversations head-on, even if it

does not have an answer to provide, as in the case of the middle school issue. The community looks to the district for guidance and wants to feel it can rely on the district for information. The district could also get ahead of rumors and false information if it engaged families in its system in meaningful and sometimes uncomfortable dialogue.

Conclusion

My aim for this study was to document various perspectives on an important and timely issue, that of equitable access to DLE, specifically for the Spanish-speaking EB population in the focal district. To situate this study, I provided information about the national and local contexts surrounding the focal district's educational policies and reviewed various bodies of relevant and important literature. I carefully gathered and documented my data and implemented a rigorous coding and analytical process to understand what it means. I identified both the scholarly and practical significance of this study and provided implications for policy, practice, and research. I offered advice that I hope is helpful to the stakeholders involved in this research.

This work helped me understand the complexities involved in the issues surrounding DLE including such as, for example, the complexities involved in the use of the term Latina/o/x. The Latinx participants in this study varied greatly and allowed me to understand that the group is largely diverse. Unlike during my teaching days at Juniper, the Spanish-speaking population in my study did not only come from Central America but also came from South America and the Caribbean. The socioeconomic differences among my participants also demonstrated that the complexities in this population are deeper than language and are tied to class as well, which can create challenges in school models such as the DLE ones examined in this research.

There is still much work to be done, but I hope this research contributes to the ongoing conversation about how to promote equitable access to DLE programs for this district's Spanish-speaking EB populations. As educators look to serve our most vulnerable populations, equitable access to DLE is an educational necessity and a resource needed for success in school and in life. I hope to continue working towards this goal, which leads me to the final section of this chapter.

Next Steps

As part of the memorandum of understanding (MOU) between me and the focal district of this study, I stated that I would share my results and final study with district officials. While the MOU did not consist of a formal plan for sharing this information, I plan to do so in the following manner. First, at the conclusion of this dissertation process, including any necessary revisions, I will share an electronic copy of the dissertation with the district's Office of Research. I will provide this copy to the district before the dissertation is published. Once I receive any confidentiality-related comments back from the district, I will meet with my district-level contact and advocate to share and discuss my findings. Because this study contains sensitive information, I want to ensure that I present the findings in a productive way with the goal of sparking a policy conversation around access to DLE programs for Spanish-speaking EB students. I would like to share this study and my findings with the district offices and personnel who participated in my study One idea I have for facilitating this process is to host a "Brown Bag" event in the central office building and invite representatives of the relevant offices to attend. Such an event would allow district personnel access to this information, which I hope will be useful for them as they continue to work towards improving educational opportunities

within this district. Because such an event would not include school administrators, I want to consider ways of sharing the data from this dissertation with the school level administrators as well.

Appendix A: Parent Interview Protocol (English and Spanish)

English Version

Thank you for taking the time to speak with me today. I'd like to hear about your experiences at (Juniper/Butterfield) and how the year is going. I will ask you some questions, but this interview is largely a chance to hear about your experiences in the program, what you like about it, as well as challenges or areas for growth. I will give you a Target gift card at the end as my appreciation for your time!

I'd like to hear about how you chose Juniper/Butterfield.

1. What factors influenced your decision to enroll at this school?
2. Could you tell me a little bit about what you like about your child being in a two-way immersion program? What do you like about your child being in a two-way immersion program?
3. What do you think are the strengths of this school?
4. What are things that could be improved?

Spanish Version

Muchas gracias por tomar el tiempo para hablar conmigo. Es realmente una conversación abierta, para entender sus experiencias en la escuela, cómo le gusta, y si hay cosas que cambiarias. Al final le daré un 'gift card" a Target como un agradecimiento de su tiempo.

Cuénteme acerca de la experiencia escolar de su hijo/a…

1. ¿Cómo decidió matricular en esta escuela/programa?
2. ¿Cuales factores influyeron su decisión de matriculación aquí?
3. ¿Cuales son las razones que le gusta que su hijo/a esta en un programa bilingüe?
4. ¿Cuales son las fuerzas de la escuela y las cosas que se podría mejorar?

Appendix B: School Administrators Interview Protocol

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me today. I anticipate our interview to be about 30 minutes, does that sound OK? I'd like to hear about your background, your current role at this school, and about the dual language program.

1. Tell me briefly about your career path up to this point and how you became an assistant principal.
1. How do families access your school and/or the DLE program?
2. What is the educational model at this school?
3. What do you see as the strengths and challenges in your work/community?

Appendix C: Central Office Personnel Interview Protocol

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. I anticipate our interview being about 30 minutes, does that still work for you? This conversation is open—I'd like to hear about your work, the district's initiatives regarding dual language programs, and equitable access to these programs.

To start, tell me briefly about your career path up to this point and how long you've been working in the office of [office name].

1. What are some of the initiatives/goals that your office works on?
2. How do families find out about their different school options?
3. What are some of the challenges in the district that you are currently focused on?
4. Once I've gathered data from the parent participants, would you be open to another interview with me in the spring?

Appendix D: School Administrators and District Officials Recruitment Letters

School Administrator Letter

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Teaching and Learning, Policy and Leadership

2311 Benjamin Bldg.
College Park, Maryland 20742-1125
301.405.3324 TEL 301.314.9055 FAX

Dear [*administrator name here]*,

Nice to meet you virtually! [Name] kindly offered to put me in touch with you regarding the research for my dissertation. I just received my official letter of "Advancing to Candidacy" so I'm trying to line up my research sites and organize my study.

I'm looking for a dual language school that would be open to me talking to parents to understand the reasons for enrolling in DL and their perception of choice in the school decision. I want to compare this with the mechanisms in place (like the lottery) to see how they align.

Please let me know if it would be possible for us to meet to discuss this potential study.

Thank you for your time. I look forward to hearing from you!

Thank you,
Maggie

District Personnel Letter

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Teaching and Learning, Policy and Leadership

2311 Benjamin Bldg.
College Park, Maryland 20742-1125
301.405.3324 TEL 301.314.9055 FAX

Dear [Fill in name of particular Central Office Employee District Official],

My name is Maggie Marcus and I am a PhD candidate at the University of Maryland, College Park in the College of Education.

I am conducting research regarding parent access to dual language programs.

I would be very interested in your perspective on this issue and the specific work your office does regarding parent access to DLE programs.

As part of my research, I would like to conduct an interview with you of approximately 30 minutes to gain your perspective. Please let me know if you would be willing to participate.

Thank you,
Maggie

Appendix E: Parent Recruitment Strategies

Interviews:

- Coffee Hours
- PTA Meetings
- Ask teachers to recommend parents to interview
- Participate in a school event night with table recruiting parents to speak with me
- Recruit participants at other school events such as Math Night, International Night, Literacy Night, Parent/Teacher Conferences
- Ask teachers to recommend parents within their classrooms
- Come to school during drop-off or pick-up

Appendix F: Data Collection Plan Timeline

Date	Data method	Time requested	Number of participants	Status
Late fall 2018 (Approved by the district 11/30/18)	Introductory meeting with principal/assistant principal	30 minutes	2 principals and 2 assistant principals	Completed (via email)
December/January 2018–2019	Pilot interview with parents	20–30 minutes	One or two parents per school	Completed 2/2019
December/January 2018–2019	Follow-up meeting with principal/assistant principal to confirm data collection method	30 minutes	2–4 administrators (principal and/or assistant principal)	Completed (via email or in person)
Late January 2019	Introduction to teachers/school staff	10–15 minutes	ECE/kindergarten teachers	Altered
Late January/early February 2019	Administrator interview	30 minutes	1–2 per school	Completed
February 2019	Initial interview with district personnel	30–45 minutes (per interview)	Approximately 5	Completed
February–April 2019 (Ongoing)	Interviews with parents	45 minutes	5–10 per site (school)	Completed
February–April 2019 (Ongoing)	Documentation and archival record gathering	N/A	Principal investigator (me)	Altered
June 2019	Follow-up interviews with district personnel	30–45 minutes	Ideally the same initial participants (approximately 5)	Completed
Ongoing	Data analysis	N/A	Principal investigator (me)	In process
August 2019	Share initial results with school principals and district personnel	60–90 minutes	Central office research participants	Altered for 2020 post dissertation completion

Appendix G: Data Management Process

Activity	Timeframe	Data analysis activity	Goal
Data organization	Ongoing, but each file organized within 48 hours	Upload file to Google Drive and hard drive Organize data in categorical folders with subcategories for different embedded units: interviews, memos, documentation, archival records Scan consents onto computer and store hard file securely	Organize and secure data
Initial processing	Within 2 weeks of data event	Transcribe interviews All data saved to computer and external hard drive Upload to NVivo	Prepare and secure data for analysis Organize data with NVivo software
Initial reflection	Beginning June 2019	Review memos Read all interview transcripts; review documentation and archival records Inductive coding	Revisit data sources Begin to see themes and patterns in the data
Initial analysis	Beginning August 2019	First-cycle coding, "Constant comparative method"	Include coding focus on In Vivo, pattern, and values coding Identify themes
Single-case analysis	October 2019	Review coding for patterns within the data Pattern coding	Find and synthesize patterns within and across data Create themes of data
Cross-case analysis	November 2019	Identify similarities and differences across cases Generate explanation	Understand answers to research questions
Intensive data analysis	December/January 2019/2020	Review data Recode Findings	Generate conclusions and analysis from data

Appendix H: IRB Letter of Approval and Continuing Review

IRB Letter of Approval

1204 Marie Mount Hall College Park, MD 20742-5125 TEL 301.405.4212
FAX 301.314.1475 irb@umd.edu www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

September 21, 2018

Margaret Marcus
University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB

[1254876-2] DLE Access and Equity, Dissertation Proposal

Amendment/Modification

APPROVED September 21, 2018 August 13, 2019 Expedited Review

Expedited review category # 7

Thank you for your submission of Amendment/Modification materials for this project. The University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

Prior to submission to the IRB Office, this project received scientific review from the departmental IRB Liaison.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulations.

This project has been determined to be a Minimal Risk project. Based on the risks, this project requires continuing review by this committee on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate forms for this procedure. Your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date of August 13, 2019.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the project and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Unless a consent waiver or alteration has been approved, Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others (UPIRSOs) and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. Please use the appropriate reporting forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must be reported promptly to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of seven years after the completion of the project.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 or irb@umd.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB's records.

IRB Letter of Continuing Review

1204 Marie Mount Hall College Park, MD 20742-5125 TEL 301.405.4212
FAX 301.314.1475 irb@umd.edu www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB

NSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

July 18, 2019

Margaret Marcus
University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB

[1254876-5] DLE Access and Equity, Dissertation Proposal

Continuing Review/Progress Report

ACKNOWLEDGED July 18, 2019 August 13, 2020

Thank you for submitting the Continuing Review/Progress Report materials for this project. The University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB has ACKNOWLEDGED your submission. No further action on submission 1254876-5 is required at this time.

The following items are acknowledged in this submission:

• ContinuingReview/ProgressReport-MMarcus_ContinuingReviewApplication_July2019.docx (UPDATED: 07/18/2019)

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 or irb@umd.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within University of Maryland College Park (UMCP) IRB's records.

Appendix I: Parent Consent Forms

Institutional Review Board
1204 Marie Mount Hall ● 7814 Regents Drive ● College Park, MD 20742 ● 301-405-4212 ● irb@umd.edu

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Project Title	Dual Language Education: Access and Equity
Purpose of the Study	*This research is being conducted by **Margaret Marcus,** a doctoral candidate under the supervision of Dr. Jeff MacSwan, at the University of Maryland, College Park. I am inviting you to participate in this research project because you have a child/children in a dual language education program. The purpose of this research project is to understand the reasons (social and cultural, for example) that you have chosen this program and the decision process to enroll. I'd like to understand the role of the community in this decision and how you perceived your choice to enroll.*
Procedures	*All your data will be kept confidential. I will use a pseudonym to protect your identity.* *The procedures involve a 45-minute interview over the course of the spring semester (February – April). I plan to audio-record these sessions so that I can review them.* *Phase I: Pilot Study. This phase will include an interview with you and other parents that meet the above criteria as a way to practice the questions. This interview will take 20-30 minutes.* *Phase 2: Interviews (45 minutes)* *Sample interview questions include:* *What is your native language?* *What language(s) did you speak in your home as a child?* *Where did you grow up?* *What was your educational experience like?* *What language do you speak with your child?* *Why did you decide to enroll your child/ren in this bilingual education program?*

	What other educational options did you consider? What do you understand to be the benefits of this specific program for your child?
Potential Risks and Discomforts	*There are no known risks posed by participation in this study.*
Potential Benefits	*There are no direct benefits to participants. However, you may gain a better understanding regarding your school choice decision and the benefits of a two-way immersion educational program. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of why families choose bilingual education programs and the choices they have for educational models.*
Confidentiality	*Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by storing data in a secure location and on a password protected computer. I will keep the voice recordings and my field notes in a locked closet in my home for protection (key pad access with digital code). I will store them for approximately 10 years and properly destroy them at the conclusion this time period. I will also use a pseudonym to protect your identity.* *If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law. Possible exceptions to confidentiality include cases of suspected child abuse or neglect. If there is a reason to believe that a child has been abused or neglected, we are required by law to report this suspicion to the proper authorities.*
Right to Withdraw and Questions	*Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.*

	If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to the research, please contact the investigator: ***Margaret Marcus*** *2311 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD, 20742* *C: 202 253 2507* *Email: mmarcus@umd.edu* ***Jeff MacSwan*** *2223 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD, 20742* *Office: 301-405-3141* *macswan@umd.edu*	
Participant Rights	*If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:* University of Maryland College Park Institutional Review Board Office 1204 Marie Mount Hall College Park, Maryland, 20742 E-mail: irb@umd.edu Telephone: 301-405-0678 *This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.*	
Statement of Consent	*Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You will receive a copy of this signed consent form.* *If you agree to participate, please sign your name below.*	
I agree to participate in this research (Check one)	**YES**	**NO**
Signature and Date	**NAME OF PARTICIPANT** **[Please Print]**	

	SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT	
	DATE	

Voluntary choice to be audio-recorded. (please initial and check here)	**YES**	**NO**

Institutional Review Board
1204 Marie Mount Hall ● 7814 Regents Drive ● College Park, MD 20742 ● 301-405-4212 ● irb@umd.edu

Consentimiento de participación

Título del proyecto	Educación bilingüe de dos vías: Acceso y Equidad
Propósito del estudio	*Esta investigación está llevándose a cabo por* ***Margaret Marcus,*** *una candidata doctorada bajo la supervisión de su consejero, Dr. Jeff MacSwan, en la Universidad de Maryland, College Park. Le estoy invitando participar en esta investigación porque Ud., tiene hijo(s) en un programa escolar bilingüe. El propósito de esta investigación es entender mejor las razones que ha decidido matricular en este programa y como fue la decisión de matricularse, Quiero entender los factores (sociales y culturales, por ejemplo) que influyen esta decisión, el rol de la comunidad en esta decisión y como entiendes las opciones escolares que tenias para su hijo(s).*
Procedimientos	Todas las identidades estarán protegidas. Usaré *seudónimos para proteger su identidad*. Esta investigación se consiste de una entrevista y su participación en un grupo enfocado. Se llevará a cabo en febrero o marzo. Me gustaría grabarlas con audio para poder repasarlas. Los grupos focales se llevarán a

	cabo en marzo o abril, dependiendo de la disponibilidad de los participantes. **Primera fase:** Entrevista pilota. La entrevista pilota me dará una oportunidad de probar las preguntas de entrevista. Será una entrevista de 20-30 minutos. **Segunda fase**: Entrevistas (45 minutos) *Las preguntas de la entrevista incluyen, por ejemplo:* *¿Cuál es su idioma nativo?* *¿Cuales idiomas hablaban en su casa cuando era niño?* *¿Cuales idiomas se habla con su(s) hijo(s)?* *¿Cuales factores contribuyen a esta decisión (¿sociales, culturales, familiares?)* *¿Por qué ha decidido participar en el programa bilingüe de esta escuela?* *¿Considero otras opciones escolares antes de matricular a su hijo?* *¿Según su entendimiento, cuales son las metas del programa bilingüe?*
Riesgos potenciales	*No hay riesgos conocidos asociados con la participación en esta investigación.*
Beneficios potenciales	*No hay beneficio directo a los participantes. Aun así, es posible que gane mejor comprensión sobre su decisión acerca del programa bilingüe. Esperamos que, en el futuro, otras familias puedan beneficiar del estudio acerca de las decisiones que toman las familias acerca sus decisiones escolares.*
Confidencialidad	*Cualquier perdida potencial de confidencialidad será minimizada por almacenar a los datos en un lugar seguro y en una computadora protegida con palabra clave. Los datos estarán almacenados en un armario asegurado con un código digital. Estarán guardados por 10 años aproximadamente y después destruidos. También usaré un seudónimo para proteger su identidad.* *Si escribimos un artículo sobre esta investigación, su identidad será protegida al máximo. Puede ser que su información sea compartida con representativos de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park, o autoridades del gobierno si Ud. o alguien está en peligro o si la ley se nos requiera.* *Excepciones posibles de confidencialidad incluyen el sospechoso de abuso de niño o negligencia. Si hay*

	razón sospechar que un/a niño/a ha estado abusado o descuidado, la ley nos obliga reportarlo a las autoridades adecuadas.
Derecho de retirar y preguntas	*Su participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria. Ud. puede decidir que no quiere participar. Si decide participar, puede parar en cualquier momento. Si decide no participar o dejar de participar, no estará penalizado ni pierde cualquier beneficio que le pertenece.* *Si Ud. decide retirar de este estudio o si tiene preguntas, preocupaciones o quejas, o tiene que reportar una lesión a causa de este estudio, favor de contactar la investigadora:* ***Margaret Marcus*** *2311 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD, 20742* *C: 202 253 2507* *Email: mmarcus@umd.edu* ***Jeff MacSwan*** *2223 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD, 20742* *Oficina: 301-405-3141* *macswan@umd.edu*
Derechos del participante	*Si tiene preguntas acerca de sus derechos como un participante en esta investigación o quiere reportar una lesión a cerca de este estudio, favor de contactar:* University of Maryland College Park Institutional Review Board Office 1204 Marie Mount Hall College Park, Maryland, 20742 E-mail: irb@umd.edu Teléfono: 301-405-0678 *Esta investigación ha sido repasada según los procedimientos involucrando sujetos humanos del IRB de la Universidad de Maryland.*
Declaración de consentimiento	*Su firma indica que tiene por lo menos 18 años, ha leído este documento; sus preguntas han sido contestadas a su satisfacción y está participando con su voluntad en este estudio. Le daré una copia de este documento firmado. Si está de acuerdo participar, favor de firmar abajo.*

Estoy de acuerdo participar en esta investigación (Marque uno)	**SI**	**NO**
Firma y fecha	**NOMBRE DE MADRE/PADRE**	
	FIRMA DE MADRE/PADRE	
	FECHA	
Favor de marcar la caja sí está de acuerdo con grabar con audio	**SI**	**NO**

Appendix J: Administrator and District Personnel Consent Form

Institutional Review Board
1204 Marie Mount Hall ● 7814 Regents Drive ● College Park, MD 20742 ● 301-405-4212 ● irb@umd.edu

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

Project Title	Dual Language Education: Access and Equity
Purpose of the Study	*This research is being conducted by **Margaret Marcus,** a doctoral candidate under the supervision of Dr. Jeff MacSwan, at the University of Maryland, College Park. I am inviting you to participate in this research project because you work in connection with a bilingual educational program either directly (within the school) or in an office associated with the district's bilingual and/or equity initiatives. I want to understand these initiatives, access to them, and how they align and differ from parent's perspectives of these programs.*
Procedures	*Your identity will be kept confidential and I will use pseudonym to protect your identity.* *For District personnel, the procedures involve two 30-45-minute interviews at a time convenient for you in the spring semester (February – June). I would like to conduct an initial interview (Feb/March) and a follow-up (May/June) once I gather program participant data. I plan to audio-record these sessions so that I can review them. For school administrators, the procedures involve one 30-minute interview at a time convenient for you in late January/February, 2019.* *Sample interview questions include:* *What is your connection to this particular program/school district?* *How long have you been in this specific position?* *Tell me briefly about your career path up to this point.* *Tell me about your understanding of the district initiatives regarding dual language education.*

	Tell me about your understanding of the district initiatives regarding equity. *What are the educational options/models available to families in this district? In this neighborhood?*
Potential Risks and Discomforts	*There are no known risks from participating in this research study.*
Potential Benefits	*There are no direct benefits to participants. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through improved understanding of why families choose bilingual education programs, how they understand and decide which academic program to enroll their children, and where the districts and families might be on the same page or have different understandings.*
Confidentiality	*Any potential loss of confidentiality will be minimized by storing data in a secure location and on a password protected computer. I will keep the voice recordings and my field notes in a locked closet in my home for protection (key pad access with digital code). I will store them for approximately 10 years and properly destroy them at the conclusion this time period. I will also use a pseudonym to protect your identity.* *If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if you or someone else is in danger or if we are required to do so by law.*
Right to Withdraw and Questions	*Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.* *If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to the research, please contact*

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2">the investigator:

Margaret Marcus
2311 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD, 20742
C: 202 253 2507
Email: mmarcus@umd.edu

Jeff MacSwan
2223 Benjamin Building, College Park, MD, 20742
Office: 301-405-3141
macswan@umd.edu</td></tr>
<tr><td>Participant Rights</td><td colspan="2">If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact:

University of Maryland College Park
Institutional Review Board Office
1204 Marie Mount Hall
College Park, Maryland, 20742
E-mail: irb@umd.edu
Telephone: 301-405-0678

This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Statement of Consent</td><td colspan="2">Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You will receive a copy of this signed consent form.

You are being asked to participate interviews for research. One 30-minute interview if you are an administrator; two 45-minute interviews if you are District personnel. If you agree to participate, please sign your name below.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Signature and Date</td><td>NAME
[Please Print]</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>SIGNATURE</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

	DATE	
I agree to participate in this research (check one)	**Yes**	**No**
Please initial here if you agree to be audio-recorded	**Yes**	**No**

Appendix K: Coding

First cycle: Open/inductive coding of each case separately

1. Juniper parents
2. Butterfield parents
3. Administrators/Central office personnel

- Used "constant comparative method" (Thomas, 2016, p. 204) to identify concepts, themes, and the relationships between these concepts.
- Examples of codes: access, choice, commitment, communication, lack of information, English as the default, perception (see more below)

Second cycle: In Vivo, pattern, and values coding

- In Vivo: Specific quotes that related to my research question
    - Example:

      Con mi esposo decidimos mudarnos lo más cerca de Juniper para volver a empezar este año escolar y gracias a Dios encontramos un lugar cercano de la escuela y aquí estamos viviendo y cuando nosotros volvimos aplicar en Juniper y él clasificó para entrar este año escolar… [With my husband we decided to move as close to Juniper so that we could return to start the school year there and thank God we found a place close to the school. And here we are living, and when we returned to apply to Juniper, he got in this school year.]

- Pattern: Reasons for choice (what do I notice across the data?)
- Values: Reasons for choice, indications of importance

Third round: Parent/Child codes, secondary constructs (cut out and organized for themes)

- Reasons (identity, middle school, and personal experience)
- Equity/Equity of access

Fourth round: Coded specific to the conceptual framework notions (all are themes in my Discussion)

- Perceptions of language: specifically for how participants discussed language in their comments (language-as-right, language-as-resource, language-as-problem)
- Critical consciousness: specific to administrators and district personnel—Do they discuss Equity? Equitable access? Relationship of languages (English/Spanish)?
- Interest convergence: good or service; English-as-default; concepts that relate to benefit of Latinx for English-speakers, such as "neighborhood school," grassroots efforts, "diversity"

First Round: Overlapping codes between all cases:

- Access
- Choice
- Commitment
- Communication
- Deficit perspective
- Equity
- Goods and services
- Identity
- In Vivo
- Lack of information
- Middle school
- Network
- Patterns
- Perception
- Personal experience
- Power
- Privilege

- Reasons for choice
- Right
- Roles
- School specific
- Systemic
- Values

Codes unique to each case:

Case	Code
Juniper	Fair-weather bilingual Tension
Butterfield	Inequities Status
Administrators/Central office	Culture Efficiency Gentrification Lack of Ownership Willingness to please

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